

THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

THE SECOND NOVEMBER
1917-1942

EDITED BY
PAUL GOODMAN

WITH FOREWORD BY
VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, P.C.

AND INTRODUCTION BY
DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

*All rights reserved
Made in Great Britain
at The Temple Press Letchworth
for
J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
Aldine House Bedford St London
First published 1943*



THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN COMPLETE CONFORMITY WITH THE AUTHORIZED ECONOMY STANDARDS

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Contributors	v
Foreword	<i>The Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood</i>
Introduction	<i>Dr. Chaim Weizmann</i>
Two Letters of the Chief Rabbi <i>The Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, C.H.</i>	xix
Editor's Note	xxii

I. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Its Origins	<i>Blanche E. C. Dugdale</i>	i
The Anglo-Jewish Background	<i>Paul Goodman</i>	ii
Its Significance in the U.S.A.	<i>Dr. Stephen S. Wise</i>	41
1917-31	<i>Felix Frankfurter</i>	47
The Last Decade	<i>'Historicus'</i>	82

II. THE RESPONSE

World Jewry's Reaction	<i>J. Hodess</i>	94
British Jewry's Reaction	<i>Janus Cohen</i>	101
Zionism in Parliament	<i>Barnett Janner</i>	106
Zionism in British Politics	<i>Dr. S. Levenberg</i>	111
Zionism and British Public Opinion	<i>A. L. Easterman</i>	124

III. THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

Palestine: Its Central Place in Jewish Life and Thought	<i>Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool</i>	132
The Historical Antecedents	<i>Dr. Franz Kobler</i>	145

	PAGE	
The Rebirth of Hebrew	<i>Leon Simon, C.B.</i>	154
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem	<i>Prof. Norman Bentwich</i>	160
Jewish Women in Palestine	<i>Romana Goodman</i>	169
Jewish Progress in Palestine	<i>Israel Cohen</i>	176
Halutzim	<i>Anita Engle</i>	187
The Youth Aliyah	<i>Eva Michaelis-Stern</i>	216
Arabs and Jews in Palestine	<i>Ephraim Broido</i>	221
The Jewish National Fund	<i>Prof. Samson Wright</i>	233
Palestine Land Transfer Regulations . . . . .	. . . . .	241

IV. ZIONIST POLICY

The Balfour Declaration:

Its Political Significance	<i>Prof. S. Brodetsky</i>	253
The Jews of Palestine and the Second World War . . . . .	. . . . .	273
The Zionist Political Programme . . . . .	. . . . .	279

APPENDIX

The Mandate of the League of Nations for Palestine and Trans-Jordan	281
---	-----------	-----

MAPS

Map of Palestine, showing the Zones of Settlement referred to in the 'Regulations' . . . . .	. . . . .	250-1
Map showing Palestine and the adjacent Arab lands . . . . .	. . . . .	293

ILLUSTRATIONS

The half-tone plates will be found between pages 40 and 41

CONTRIBUTORS

BENTWICH, Norman. Flying Officer; Chaim Weizmann Professor of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BRODETSKY, SELIG. Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of Leeds; President, Board of Deputies of British Jews; Head of the Political Department, Jewish Agency for Palestine, London.

BROIDO, EPHRAIM. Former Editor of *Davar*, Tel Aviv.

COHEN, ISRAEL. Former General Secretary of the Zionist Organization, London.

COHEN, JANUS. Hon. Secretary, Zionist Federation, and Chairman of its Organization Committee.

DUGDALE, MRS. EDGAR. Biographer of the late Lord Balfour.

EASTERMAN, A. L. Vice-President, Zionist Federation; Hon. Secretary, World Jewish Congress (British Section).

ENGLE, ANITA. Journalist; since 1936 associated in Palestine and England with the Youth Aliyah Movement.

FRANKFURTER, FELIX. Justice of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A.

GOODMAN, PAUL. Chairman, Political Committee of the Zionist Federation; Editor, *The Zionist Review*, London.

GOODMAN, MRS. PAUL. Member of Executive, Women's International Zionist Organization, and Chairman of its Organization and Propaganda Department, London.

HERTZ, THE VERY REV. DR. J. H., C.H. Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire.

HODESS, J. Editor, *The New Judaea*, London.

JANNER, BARNETT. Chairman, Zionist Federation; Hon. Secretary, Parliamentary Palestine Committee.

KOBLER, DR. FRANZ. Hon. Secretary, Jewish Institute for Jewish Learning, London.

LEVENBERG, DR. S. Acting Chairman, Poale Zion (Jewish Socialist Labour Party) in Great Britain; Associate Editor, *The Zionist Review*, London.

MICHAELIS-STERN, MRS. EVA. Hon. Secretary, Youth Aliyah Committee, London.

POOL, REV. DR. D. DE SOLA. Minister, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Shearith Israel, New York.

SIMON, LEON, C.B. Chairman, Education Committee, Zionist Federation.

WEIZMANN, DR. CHAIM. President, Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

WISE, RABBI DR. STEPHEN S. President, World Jewish Congress; Chairman, Zionist Emergency Committee of America, New York.

WRIGHT, SAMSON, M.D., F.R.C.P. President, Jewish National Fund (Great Britain and Ireland).

FOREWORD

By the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, P.C.

THE Balfour Declaration, with which the essays in this book are concerned, embodied a new international conception. For centuries there had been a Jewish problem in the world, which had led to crime and cruelty against the Jews and had, from time to time, produced the unrest and revolution which are the usual consequences of oppression. When I first saw Dr. Chaim Weizmann he put into a phrase the political cause of the trouble. He said: 'A Jew has always to explain himself.' He may be a citizen of the country in which he lives, but he is not quite like other citizens. However loyal he may be to that country, he has also a loyalty as a Jew. Disraeli, a British Prime Minister, was still a Jew and proud of it.

That is one aspect of the problem—the aspect which more directly affects non-Jews. What this ambiguity had meant to Jewish psychology and Jewish culture may be seen from the following pages. For years some Jews had sought a remedy for this in the establishment of a community in a local habitation, preferably in Palestine, and Zionism, as we now know it, was the outcome of this aspiration. How Zionism became a practical proposition, how it was taken up by the British and American Governments, and the measure of satisfaction it received in the Declaration, is hereinafter set out. The problem was not a simple one—apart from its larger aspects the consequences of any promise to the Jews had to be considered in relation to our then war situation. Palestine was part of the Turkish Empire. Since she was on the other side, that empire's position was of less importance to us. But Palestine contained an Arab population. They had not, indeed, any international rights except as Turkish subjects. But we naturally desired that they should not join our enemies.

A formula was accordingly devised by which Palestine was to be a home of the Jews, but the position of other inhabitants were not to be prejudiced. Eventually this was provided for by giving to Britain a mandate over the country on terms which were designed to safeguard both the Jewish and Arab position. The result has been, as these papers show, in many respects highly successful. The material welfare of the country has grown by leaps and bounds. Agriculture has flourished, and considerable industrial progress has been made. Culturally, the Hebrew language has been revived, education has advanced, and, aided by the expulsion from Germany of eminent Jewish philosophers and writers, the new University has done much to awaken Hebrew intellectual activities. Politically, the arrangement has not been an unqualified success. Internally, the Arabs, or a section of them, have become less and less willing to accept partnership with the Jews. It is true they have no material grievance, but they are convinced that unless the Jews can be ejected they will dominate the whole land. While such a sentiment exists it makes a joint administration difficult if not impossible. Externally, too, the Jewish difficulty continues. They have still got to explain themselves. They have not yet obtained a national existence. If Jews are ill-treated, as the German ruffians have shown, there is no Jewish Government to protest, indeed, there is no Government anywhere that has the right and duty to protect Jewish victims. We have been discussing punishment for war crimes. It is proposed that war criminals shall be tried in the courts of the nation to which their victims belonged. It is obvious that such an arrangement could not easily be applied to cases where German citizens have been tortured or killed because they are Jews.

Considerations of this kind are no criticism of the acts of those who established the Jewish home. It was probably the only feasible solution at the time, and it might have been at least a useful step towards a more perfect system, had the Arabs been more amenable. As things have gone I am convinced

that it would be a better plan now to follow the advice of the Peel Commission and set up an unambiguous Jewish State, with all proper precautions for the protection of other nationalities within it. For the present the war must go on till victory enables us to deal with this and many other questions. To fit themselves for that task, those interested in the Palestine question cannot do better than to read this book.

CECIL.

INTRODUCTION

By Dr. Chaim Weizmann

I WELCOME the publication of this volume commemorating the issue of the Balfour Declaration twenty-five years ago.

It is well that, at this particular time, there should be a record of the efforts that led up to this most momentous national event in the history of Israel since the destruction of its polity in Judaea and of the intensive efforts that, thanks to the opportunities afforded by this Declaration, have been made during the last quarter of a century by the Jewish people to reconstruct its ancient homeland.

It is only the responsible Zionists who lived through the anxieties and hopes in those ever-memorable days when the promise of a Jewish national home was on the horizon who can realize what were the emotions that greeted the Balfour Declaration. It is equally difficult to recapture the spirit of that springtide in the fortunes of the Jewish national home when its flowering appeared endangered by adverse circumstances.

Let us, then, recall the friends and colleagues, non-Jewish as well as Jewish, who laboured with us and brought the fulfilment, even if only partial, of our aspirations. And let us especially evoke here the grateful memory of that illustrious British statesman whose name is immortalized in the pledge that Great Britain will facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. It was a promise given after much consideration by the statesmen of a country that is not only great in material power, but in the genius that created and has maintained the British Commonwealth of Nations.

And let us bear in mind that though the light that then shone upon Israel has been dimmed, it has not been extinguished,

and will, we trust, in God's good time shine again in its full glory.

In a time of world-wide calamity, when it is impossible to turn the eye in any direction without being met by the spectacle of suffering and bloodshed, it may seem invidious to award to a single people a special crown of martyrdom. But a cold evaluation—if such a thing is possible—of the horrors visited upon humanity, lifts into tragic pre-eminence one people, the Jewish, as the most consistent and helpless target of a malignant fate. It is not only by virtue of their present torments that the majority of the Jews of Europe, overwhelmed by Nazi brutality, or trapped in the fields of battle, stand out as the supreme symbol of man's inhumanity to man. Their past and their future, the one already known, the other dimly and horribly foreshadowed, have no parallel even in the grim records of this epoch. They were the first and most consistent victims—in the days of what we may call trial-practice—of the assault on civilization; they are, with their supremely difficult problem of to-morrow, perhaps the least considered and the least understood of the victim peoples.

For the floating populations of the various countries there will be—and I do not underestimate the gravity of their plight—a comparatively simple process of reabsorption. For those millions of Jews who will be stateless and homeless, the task will be infinitely more difficult. For we must bear in mind that even such Jewries as have not been geographically displaced will have been economically dislodged; and they will emerge as a great, unadjusted mass of millions, whose past ties with their surroundings have been deliberately and systematically destroyed. What is to happen to this floating Jewish population of Europe? Its total, or even substantial reintegration with the surrounding world is not within the realm of possibility. Large-scale migration to the New World, in the period following this

war, cannot reasonably be anticipated, for large-scale immigration is a feature only of expanding economies. There remains, as the sole tried and tested mass-reconstruction measure, the absorption of the larger part of this floating Jewish population into the expanding Jewish homeland in Palestine.

PART OF THE WORLD PROBLEM

It must be observed at the very outset that this is not simply a Jewish problem, even in so far as it relates to the Jews themselves. It is an integral part of the reconstruction problem of Europe and of the world; it is an essential contribution to the proper regulation of mass relationships after the war; it is the removal of a disturbing human situation which has its repercussions outside of its immediate victims. It is, in other words, part of the statesmanship of to-morrow. Those who vaguely refer the problem of Jewish resettlement to the general settlement, and cannot see that this vast group of human beings must, like every other group, be dealt with in terms of its own special needs, difficulties, and possibilities, inflict a grave injury on the post-war world.

It is unnecessary in the light of the experience gained in Palestine in the last twenty-five years to advance further proof of that country's aptitude as an instrument for the solution of these practical Jewish problems. A land which twenty years ago was declared incapable of absorbing any more immigrants, has become the greatest and most successful Jewish immigration centre in the last generation. A people which was declared incapable of demonstrating the virtues of pioneerdom has done the great piece of colonizing work of the last generation. Perhaps no people has been more astonished than the Jews themselves at the magnitude of the task they have performed in transplanting to Palestine half a million of their homeless,

and in welding them there into a cohesive, productive, and vigorous community. Hundreds of thousands of men and women have changed themselves from ghetto dwellers into agricultural workers and factory hands. They have given evidence of a first-rate capacity for self-organization and self-government. They have, in brief, demonstrated a latent gift for building a civilization, which needs only a free field in order to bring it forth. It is clear that the envisaging of the task in these terms, and in this manner, calls for enormous human effort. But it is precisely because it is envisaged as a great corporate enterprise, with a status and, as it were, a personality, that it is really feasible. It is clear that a vast expansion of Jewish activity in Palestine, as post-war conditions will demand, can only be undertaken as a great corporate responsibility by the Jews themselves, and would require political conditions favourable to its execution. The piecemeal disposal of the floating Jewish population of Europe, the transplantation of a few thousand here and there, is a wasteful procedure, and would leave the kernel of the real problem untouched. A hundred beginnings, a hundred experiments, a hundred studies, trials and errors would have to be undertaken. And whatever measure of success would be achieved, there would still not be created a sturdy Jewish commonwealth capable of assuming a large part of the responsibility. This enterprise must not be projected merely as a philanthropic one. Only a people as such can be called upon to meet the responsibilities involved; and it must be the people which is at once the beneficiary, the executor, and the guarantor. A commonwealth in the making, with foundations already firmly laid, becoming progressively stronger as it liquidates the task, also becomes progressively more capable of meeting the financial obligations involved. It may be said that the ability of the post-war world to approach the Jewish problem with this degree of sympathy and imagination will be a measure of its ability to deal with all its other problems. And it should be added that the ability of the Jews to rise to such an

opportunity will be a measure of their capacity to contribute to the post-war stabilization. The task which Jewry will be called upon primarily to fulfil will be that of transforming itself from a scattered, rootless, unintegrated condition into a condition which enables it to perform a corporate task, assume a corporate responsibility, and take up its role in history as a contributor to the new civilization.

Undoubtedly it is no light task. But when was the re-creation of a civilization, and the reconstruction of a people, child's play? Undoubtedly there are specific problems, many of which, it is true, loom larger in the imagination than in reality. Much has been said, and unfortunately very often without adequate information or study, about Palestine's restricted absorptive capacity of newcomers. The objections which were raised twenty years ago, that Palestine could not support more than seven hundred thousand people, are repeated, in the same form, when Palestine supports double that number at a far higher subsistence level. The objection that the coming of Jews would mean the displacement of Arabs is repeated after the Jews have increased their population by half a million, and have thereby enabled the Arabs to increase their numbers equally. Sober study reveals that, granted a modern type of agriculture and a rationalized industry, Palestine can double its present population without yet reaching optimum density of population.

This is not to deny that there is among the Arabs an implacable minority which simply denies the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine. With this minority, which has consistently opposed the improvement of the lot of the Arab masses, it is impossible to argue. But it is not amiss to point out that the Jewish claim to Palestine is not just a matter of historic record: it is a matter of living relationship, of a moral imperative. It is both in the living consciousness of the Jew, and in the living consciousness of the world, that Palestine and the Jewish people are seen as complementary. It is through the contact of the

Jews with Palestine that enormous energies have been released, energies which have been stored up for thousands of years, waiting for an opportunity to manifest themselves, and when the opportunity came they were transformed into a force responsible for the unparalleled achievement of the Jewish homeland. Hunger, misery, homelessness, even the craving for life itself, are not sufficient to unlock in human beings the wells of creativity. There is needed a sense of destiny, a vision, and an inspiration. Of the Jewish people it can be said that its destiny, to-morrow as to-day, is to reconstruct its spirit and its form in the land of its origin.

I have said that the world is as conscious of this indestructible relationship as is the Jewish people. Jewry is assigned a certain unavoidable task in that part of the world of which Palestine is the centre. For the world is interested in stabilization and modernization after the war. America, England, and Russia have a stake in the progressive and orderly development of the Near East. At the juncture of three continents, as a bridge linking east and west, and standing guard, as it has always stood, over the route from Europe to India, Palestine can play a peculiarly significant part in the reconstruction of the post-war world.

THE NEED OF THE EAST

Perhaps this war has revealed most clearly the need which the Near East has of modern, progressive development. A vast stretch of territory bordering on the Mediterranean, on the Indian Ocean, and on the Euphrates, sparsely populated by a semi-backward people with a low standard of living, presented, so to say, a vacuum and a prey to any predatory country, and this made the Arab population peculiarly receptive to Nazi-Fascist propaganda. They were impressed by power politics,

and could not discern the vast forces of democracy, unorganized at the beginning of the struggle and moving toward victory in slow and somewhat erratic stages. The mind of the Arab became confused. The Arabs have been led to believe that they were threatened by the Jewish development of Palestine, a mere notch (to use Lord Balfour's designation) in the vast Arab estate that, for many centuries, had been disregarded and, until the advent of Jewish immigration, left fallow. Yet a distinguished American scientist, who has made a careful study of Palestine and its possibilities, has stated recently that the Jordan valley and its adjacent country were capable of development in a manner which would create room for the settlement of five million people over and above the present population. I understand that this grandiose scheme is attracting the attention of important circles. What a glorious opportunity this would afford for the co-operation of Jews and Arabs to make Palestine one of the highest developed lands in the Middle East! This would improve immeasurably the lot of the Arab peasant, and at the same time create possibilities for innumerable oppressed Jews to build up their future and that of their children by the work of their hands. If this scheme were to be carried into effect, all fears of the Arabs could be dissolved, once for all, for there would be enough land available for all concerned, and a new era of peace and prosperity in that part of the world would thus be ushered in.

As it is, Palestine Jews have been enrolled in many thousands in the armies of the Near East in order to play their part in preventing an Italian and German victory, which would, incidentally, submerge the Arab peoples in a slavery without measure and without end. The Jews of Palestine, and many outside it, consider that the opportunities given to them to participate in the struggle for the Near East are not sufficient, and not commensurate with the great anxiety and responsibility resting on the Jewish Community in Palestine, and are entitled to expect that, quite apart from the inalienable right to defend

their lives, their right to fight the enemies of democracy should be recognized. The modernization and progressive development of the Near East cannot be carried out in an imperialistic way; it cannot be achieved by exploitative methods, by the transitory settlement of westerners whose interest in the locality is chiefly its wealth. But it can be done by a westernizing and modernizing group which feels that its security, its welfare, and its destiny are tied up with the security, welfare, and destiny of the Arab people; a group which comes to co-operate, to become a permanent feature of the great transcontinental passage-way which is the Middle East.

All these visions of the morrow call for understanding, primarily among the Jews themselves. For if we are not capable of formulating our needs and demonstrating our possibilities, how can we expect the others to do so? I believe that the lesson of the last quarter of a century will not go unheeded, and that at the end of this great and terrible war a genuine effort will be made by humanity to shape things so as to prevent a still more terrible war for the next generation. The question for us Jews is, whether, in the application of the lessons of the twentieth century, we shall keep pace with general progress or lag behind.

I believe it to be a simple fact that the moral opportunity before the Jewish people is to-day of more significance than it has ever been before. The question for us is: Can we, by a joint effort of the will and the intelligence, bring to the notice of the American, the British, and the Russian peoples the decisive element in our problem and their interplay with the problems of world stabilization? Can we demonstrate a readiness to assume responsibility—with the benevolent sympathy of the world—for the solution of the Jewish post-war problem in a manner which will harmonize with the needs and hopes of the post-war world? Can we, in fact, show that in our desire to answer the cry of a homeless Jewish people, we are actuated by motives which transcend our own pain and fuse with the

strivings of humanity? I believe that we can; for I believe that in this tormented and decimated Jewish people there resides that ancient and elemental will which has carried it across many crises in human history, and still demands a creative, and not merely a curative, outlet.

TWO LETTERS OF THE CHIEF RABBI

THE following two Letters, which date from 1917, should, I venture to believe, prove of interest even to the present generation.

The first letter was my indignant reaction to the attempt of the then leaders of the Jewish Board of Deputies and of the Anglo-Jewish Association to strangle the Declaration before its birth. It appeared in *The Times* of 28th May 1917, in company with communications from the second Lord Rothschild (to whom the Balfour Declaration was eventually addressed) and Dr. Weizmann.

The second letter is my considered reply to the question put to me, as Chief Rabbi, by the Cabinet as to the advisability of issuing a Declaration on the Jewish national home, a step that —to the surprise of H.M. Ministers—was meeting with unexpected Jewish opposition.

An unimaginable tragedy has now overtaken Israel; but the night would have been even darker but for the New Judaea which is, to so large an extent, the creation of the Balfour Declaration.

J. H. HERTZ.

24th December 1942.

I

THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS: ZIONIST PROJECTS

To the Editor of *The Times*,

SIR,

I do not propose to advance any arguments contesting the extraordinary statement on Zionism and Palestine which you published on Thursday last, signed by Mr. D. L. Alexander, K.C., and Mr. Claude G. Montefiore. But, as Chief Rabbi

of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, I cannot allow your readers to remain under the misconception that the said statement represents in the least the views held either by Anglo-Jewry as a whole or by the Jewries of the Overseas Dominions. Moreover, neither the Board of Deputies nor the Anglo-Jewish Association—on whose behalf their presidents signed the document in question—authorized its publication or had an opportunity of considering its contents.

It is indeed grievously painful to me to write this in your influential columns. But I am impelled to do so in the interests of truth, and justice to the communities of which I have the honour and privilege of being the spiritual head.

Obediently yours,

J. H. HERTZ, Chief Rabbi.

Mulberry Street,
Commercial Road, E.1.

25th May 1917.

II

Office of the Chief Rabbi,
Mulberry St., Commercial Rd.
London E.1.

15th Oct. 1917, 5678.

DEAR SIR,

The Attitude of H.M. Government Towards the Zionist Movement, and the Future of Palestine (18/OA/5).

It is with feelings of the profoundest gratification that I learn of the intention of H.M. Government to lend its powerful support to the re-establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. The proposed declaration of H.M. Government that it 'will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object' will mark an epoch in Jewish history. To millions of my brethren throughout the world,

it will mean the realization of Israel's undying hope of a Restoration—a hope that has been the spiritual lodestar of Israel's wanderings for the last 1,800 years.

The draft declaration is in spirit and in substance everything that could be desired. I welcome the reference to the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. It is but a translation of the basic principle of the Mosaic legislation: 'And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.' (Leviticus xix. 33, 34.)

I would suggest one minor alteration in the wording of the last three lines. I am anxious that the phrase:

'Or the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship,'

be shortened to:

'Or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

In conclusion, I must, as Chief Rabbi, thank the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the members of the War Cabinet for their striking sympathy with Jewish aspirations; and assure them that the overwhelming majority of Anglo-Jewry, as well as of the Jewries of His Majesty's Overseas Dominions, will rejoice with me at this broad humanity and far-sighted statesmanship of the men who guide the destinies of the Empire.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours truly,

J. H. HERTZ,
Chief Rabbi.

The Secretary,
Offices of the War Cabinet,
2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

EDITOR'S NOTE

THE issue of the Declaration of 2nd November 1917 by Arthur James Balfour, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the British Government would facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, was addressed to (the second) Lord Rothschild with the request that the contents of the letter to him be conveyed to the Zionist Federation, of which Dr. Chaim Weizmann was then (as he is in 1942) the president. It has, therefore, been considered advisable that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland should publish a commemorative volume recording this greatest and most far-reaching event in modern Jewish history, and the implications of the Jewish national home for the future of the Jewish people.

This book appears at a most critical juncture in the millennial vicissitudes of the Jews, at a time when the status and fate of Israel in Europe, if not of universal Judaism, have been affected fundamentally. Hence the appeal implicit in these pages is made to the conscience and for the sympathetic understanding of the English-speaking world now arrayed in a life-and-death struggle for the preservation of the moral and spiritual values which emanated from Judaea of old and are being upheld by millions of martyred Jews of these very days.

It is designed to give in these pages, in a brief and concise form, an authoritative account of the course that led to the Balfour Declaration in 1917, and of the development of the Jewish national home in Palestine during the last quarter of a century. An extensive literature provides detailed information on every phase of the Jewish national movement centred in Palestine but world-wide in its scope; and the summary now

presented is intended not only to recall the past but to postulate the future.

The whole world is in travail and Israel in Europe in agony. The manœuvres of ambitious politicians and of administrative officials anxious for a quiet life to switch off the Jewish problem from Palestine to Madagascar, Mauritius, and elsewhere are now entirely out of date and pitifully out of place.

Faced by the catastrophe which has overwhelmed the Jews on the European continent, the Mandatory Power of Palestine cannot disregard the responsibility of His Majesty's Government towards the Jewish people manifested in the spirit as well as in the letter of the Balfour Declaration twenty-five years ago.

In 1939, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Government, issued a White Paper on British policy in Palestine, which was declared by a majority of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations to be incompatible with the terms of the mandate.

Jews are not now admitted into the mandated territory of Palestine in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity of the country (in conformity with the undertaking in 1931 by Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, the then Prime Minister, in his communication to the president of the Jewish Agency), and are only permitted to acquire land in certain specified, narrowly confined areas. The Jews are apparently no longer in Palestine 'by right and not on sufferance,' to use the expression by Mr. Winston Churchill, as Secretary for the Colonies, in his statement in 1922.

In 1944, the five years' grace granted to the Jews under the MacDonald decree will come to an end, and—if the policy envisaged in the White Paper of 1939 be carried to its conclusion—the statutory minority of Jews in Palestine will then become subject to the Arab majority. It has to be recorded that this policy—unlike the mandate—is being carried out

effectively. What the consequences of this policy will be is not in doubt. The recent massacre of Jews in allied Iraq is not, in view of the events of the past, an impossibility in Palestine. It is thus the future of the Jewish national home that is in jeopardy, and the honour of England that is at stake.

PAUL GOODMAN.

The book is issued under the charge of a committee consisting of Mr. Paul Goodman, the editor; Professor S. Brodetsky; Mr. Berl Locker; and Mr. L. Bakstansky.

The thanks of the editor are tendered to the contributors to this volume; and he particularly desires to record his deep appreciation of the valued collaboration of Mr. Bakstansky, the general secretary of the Zionist Federation.

London, October 1943.

I. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

ITS ORIGINS

By Blanche E. C. Dugdale

ON 2nd November 1917 a British Government promised its support for the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. Well known as the text of that pledge is, I give it again here, because its very wording is an indication of where its origins must be sought.

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

It is made clear enough here what is carrying the life-force. Britain contributes 'sympathy' and co-operation—no mean gift at a moment when the fortune of war made her the chief arbiter of Palestine's destiny—but the moral inspiration and the practical initiative came from the Jewish side. To dig to the root of this enterprise it is the thread of Jewish history,

not of British policy, which must be followed back. But it would be as far beyond my power as beyond the space at my disposal, to try to show the beginnings or the developments of the Messianic hope, hidden through three thousand years in the hearts of the Jewish people. The work of the founders of Hibbath Zion created a connecting link between that period of passive mystic waiting for the Return and the active revival of Jewish national consciousness which was organized by Theodor Herzl round about the turn of the nineteenth century into an active political movement. That is the point in time where the origins of the Balfour Declaration may easily be examined, for it is the point at which the will of the Jewish nation to survive began to express itself in terms, and in aims, which could be understood, and 'viewed with favour' or otherwise, by other nations. It was also the stage at which a British statesman first took a practical interest in Zionist aspirations.

Joseph Chamberlain was Colonial Secretary in Balfour's Cabinet when he was first brought into contact with Herzl in the autumn of 1902. The meeting of the two in London came about through the exertions of an English Zionist, Mr. Greenberg (thus already the new forms of energy in the Jewish will-to-live are discernible, probing now for political opportunity). So far, the only published record of how or why Chamberlain's interest in projects of Jewish colonization was kindled comes from Herzl's own letters and diaries, and other Jewish sources. Mr. Garvin has not yet produced the final volume of the official biography of Chamberlain on which he has been engaged for so long, and no correspondence between the Prime Minister of the day and his Colonial Secretary has been found among the Balfour papers. This is particularly disappointing, for undoubtedly the reception given to Chamberlain's 'Uganda' offer by the Zionist Congress in August 1903 caused the awakening of Balfour's curiosity to know more about the Jewish national movement. Chamberlain made the suggestion to Herzl of land for Jewish settlement in East

Africa, on his return to London from his empire tour in April 1903, and must have spoken to Balfour about it, but there is no evidence that he had examined deeply into the subject of Zionism, or into the practical possibilities of the Uganda scheme. Balfour's own sympathies with the unhappy lot of the Jews in Tsarist Russia were as active as Chamberlain's, and his interest in Jewish history in the Dispersion probably much more informed, since it had been a subject which had attracted him all through his life.

Chamberlain's return from Africa was immediately followed by the split in the Conservative Party due to his insistence on a policy of Tariff Reform, and from that moment till the smashing Unionist defeat at the general election of 1905, and the fall of Balfour's Government, the Prime Minister was incessantly grappling with one political crisis after another. Strong indeed must have been the intellectual attraction of what can only have seemed to him, then, an episode without practical importance, if, when Balfour came to Manchester to fight his losing battle at the polls, he was still wondering why Britain's Uganda offer had met with so stormy a reception from a friendless, persecuted people. But here was exactly the sort of mystery to engage Balfour's eagerly speculative mind. By chance (if that be indeed the word) he struck Weizmann's trail in Manchester. I shall not here repeat the story of their first meeting; it is described in my *Life of Balfour* from the biographer's point of view. In an essay on the origins of the Balfour Declaration it is not so easy to assess its importance. Weizmann gave Balfour an insight into Zionist ideology, and into the reasons why Jewish nationalism was bound up with Palestine, and Palestine only. There came a stage in the Zionist negotiations with the British Government in 1917 when this insight on the part of the Foreign Secretary, as Balfour then was, assumed an importance which must remain literally incalculable until such time as the Cabinet archives of the autumn of 1917 are laid open. It may well be that

Balfour's arguments turned the scale at the decisive discussion of the plea which the Zionist leaders were putting forward. Undoubtedly his soundings of American opinion during his visit to the United States in the spring of 1917 were essential to enabling Mr. Lloyd George's Government to weigh the pros and cons. It is very important not to overestimate the influence Balfour had on the Balfour Declaration. It was the result of a decision come to after very careful consideration by the whole British Cabinet, and for which the whole British Cabinet shared responsibility. (It is rather to belittle the thing to consider it the work of one man. One man may easily be mistaken, or carried away by his feelings; he may easily omit to look at both sides of a question.) It was not Balfour who gave the pledge, it was the whole British Government.

There were several other ministers at the time besides Lloyd George who were in sympathy with, and inclined to grant, the wishes of the Zionists, but there was one most formidable enemy inside the Cabinet, and that enemy was the only Jew in the Cabinet, Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India. He was the spearhead of that opposition to the Balfour Declaration, which never came from Gentile quarters, but from assimilated and semi-assimilated Jews of western Europe and the United States. It came from within the Jewish people themselves, it came from that type of Jewish person who still survives in those countries of Europe where anti-Semitism is either non-existent or so latent that Jews can deceive themselves into supposing that their neighbours do not see the difference of race and the difference of character which they themselves are determined to try to forget. Assimilation is a kind of escapism, arising from a desire to discard all those things which have made the Jewish lot a sad one in many respects throughout the ages. And that desire to cast away has led these people tragically to cast away many things they have to be proud of, and no other nation in the world has more to be proud of than the Jews.

Mr. Montagu, in the Cabinet, was the spearhead of that kind of opposition which said: 'The Jews have a position in many countries of the world.' (They also had a position in Germany in those days.) 'All that will be in jeopardy if the Jews mark themselves out as a nation and say they are different from the people among whom they live.' That was the argument which was brought very formidably. And there came a day when Balfour had to stand up to Montagu and had to fight from the Jewish Zionist Nationalist standpoint against the British assimilated Jew. He had to fight and he won his fight. He could not have done it if he had not learned from a Jew what the thing really stood for. But Balfour would have been the first to deprecate a rendering of history which exaggerated his share in the Declaration that bears his name. Not that he had doubts about it, for (as he said to me at the end of his life) he looked on his work for the return of the Jews to Palestine as possibly the 'most worth while' thing he had ever set his hand to. But Palestine was far too central and vital a spot in British policy for the Cabinet to acquiesce in having its mind made up for it about what the future of that country should be, especially a Cabinet which contained men like Milner, Carson, and Smuts. Mr. Lloyd George, in choosing his ministers, never aimed at collecting 'rubber stamps,' and it is right to remember that the pledges and safeguards of the Balfour Declaration were given in Britain's name, by statesmen of outstanding quality, with great experience, who devoted deep and unhurried consideration to the policy which they eventually endorsed.

The final stages of Cabinet discussion took place in the autumn of 1917. But Zionist hopes were communicated to some individual ministers at least two years earlier, and this time it was an English Gentile who made the connecting link. The name of the late C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, should for ever be held in honour by Jews throughout the world, for the cause of Jewish nationalism owes much to his personal influence, as well as to the great newspaper which has

never fallen below the standards that he set for it, high even in the proud records of the best British journalism. He carried on the traditional English friendship with the Jewish people, and he shared that sympathy with the idea of the Return to the land of Israel which has enthused so many remarkable English men and women, in every generation, all through the nineteenth century and earlier. So it is fitting that the name of C. P. Scott should come into the story of the Balfour Declaration at an important moment. He went to his friend, David Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer in Asquith's Government, fired his ready imagination about Zionism, and arranged for a meeting between him and Dr. Weizmann, to which Mr. Herbert Samuel (now Lord Samuel) was asked to come. This was in December 1914. The interview left Dr. Weizmann hopeful enough to warrant him in summoning the leaders of the Russian and Polish Zionists to give their aid and authority for the next steps. Dr. Tschlenow and Dr. Sokolow came to London from the Continent.

Dr. Tschlenow died in 1918. Dr. Sokolow became known all over Europe and America as a great scholar and a great Zionist long before his death in 1936. The name of Dr. Weizmann ranks to-day among the outstanding statesmen and scientists of the world. So it needs an effort to get back to a time when the names of these men were comparatively unknown outside Zionist circles, and completely unknown to the rulers in Whitehall. But unless we can make this effort of imagination we miss the high drama of this story. To me, at least, it has always seemed that once the interest of British statesmen possessed of vision, like Lloyd George and Balfour, was thoroughly engaged, the Zionist cause was more than half won. The real struggle was to gain a hearing and a footing in the great offices of Whitehall, labouring under the terrific day-to-day pressure of the war. The little group of eastern European Jews, with their foreign accents, and with no one to back them but the helpless suffering millions for whom they

spoke, and nothing to sustain them but the faith which moves mountains, set out to storm Valhalla. They did it.

The imponderable personal factors, the importance of which the historian can never assess but must always remember, play a very large part in this story. It was bound to be so when Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Lloyd George came together. They made contact in 1915 on a plane quite distinct from politics—British or Zionist. As a Jewish leader Dr. Weizmann asked aid from Britain—as a scientist he came to give help in her vital need. Mr. Lloyd George has borne testimony to the value of the Weizmann process for manufacturing acetone at the time of the munitions crisis. He has related how Dr. Weizmann refused all reward or honour for himself, and asked only for recognition of the Jewish national home. The claim is characteristic of the man who made it.

Another person who played an important part in securing support for the Balfour Declaration was Sir Mark Sykes. He was an ardent sympathizer with Arab national aspirations, but when he got into touch with the Zionist leaders (which he did as soon as he heard of their presence in London) he took up their cause. For he, too, had his hopes and his dreams for the peoples emerging from under the dead hand of Ottoman rule. He foresaw Arabs, Armenians, and Jews, developing their own civilizations in their own way within their national boundaries, co-operating for the peace and prosperity of the Middle East. It was an infinite loss and misfortune for those nations, and for his own, that Sir Mark Sykes died in 1919, largely of overwork for that aim. But he lived to guide the negotiations leading up to the Balfour Declaration—a fact often conveniently forgotten by British ‘pro-Arabs’ who came after him, and asseverate that Arab interests had no spokesman or champion in Government circles at that time.

When the policy of a national home for the Jews in Palestine entered the stage of Cabinet discussion, the chapter on the ‘origins’ of the Balfour Declaration closes. But the

Government who accepted its solemn pledges had a definite conception of what it was intended to lead to.

It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity offered them by the idea of a National Home, and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of any one engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust, and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing.

The quotation is from Mr. Lloyd George's *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, vol. ii, pp. 1138-9. It provides a measure of the degree in which successive British administrations have departed in spirit and in letter from the promises made to the Jews in 1917, and renewed when the mandate was accepted in 1922. The decline was gradual, and reached its nadir in the White Paper of 1939; its causes are discussed elsewhere in this book. Only one of them, I think, can fairly be traced back to conditions inherent in the situation from the beginnings of British responsibility for Palestine—namely, the fundamental fact that the inspiration under which the country has been developed does not come from the British side. National impulse and national pride in achievement belong to the Jews—and may be some compensation for disappointments and injustices which no man has power to take from them. The Mandatory Power has not much reason for self-satisfaction in its handling of Palestine. It has done little to raise the standards of Arab welfare and education nearer the Jewish level. It has discouraged loyalty, and fumbled timidly with rebellion. To seek explanation for these blots upon the record of British colonial administration is not necessarily to try to excuse them. One thing which failed was understanding of the idea of partner-

ship in replanting Jewish civilization in the Land of Israel. Balfour was wont to emphasize this aspect of British duty and British interest whenever he spoke about 'the great experiment' in Palestine. Nothing that has happened renders a return to that fruitful co-operation impossible. The origins of the Balfour Declaration form neither the first nor the last chapter in a long story. And the more that story is studied, the more does the pattern of it appear to be greater than the human beings who strive to make or mar it on the loom.

I am sometimes asked by non-Jewish friends to define Zionist ideals in a few words. This is not a very easy thing to do. As all we students of Zionism have discovered, Zionism is a very deep thing. But if I have to sum up briefly I would say that the ideal of Zionism is to restore self-respect to the Jewish people, and thus to bring back the Jewish nation into the respect of the other peoples of the world. I believe that if we go back, and study the original philosophy and aims of Hibbath Zion, and of Zionism through the Herzl period, and on to our own period, we find this ideal of restoring self-respect running through all that has been done and attempted, especially in the political sphere. It is one of the root ideals of Zionism. And what springs from it? An enormous contrast springs from it; the contrast between respect and pity.

If you study the history of the Herzl period, and the great crisis of the Uganda movement, you will find that the main-spring of Joseph Chamberlain's offer of Uganda for the Jews was probably pity. Not unmixed pity. Chamberlain had a very sound idea that the Jews would make good colonists, good settlers, a good element in that Africa which he was trying to develop, but mainly he thought of the sad situation of the Jews in eastern Europe, and it was an instinct of compassion which prompted his offer. Compassion is also at the root of the various ideas that have been floating before some people's minds in the last year or two in England, of Jewish settlement

for refugees in British Guiana, San Domingo, Rhodesia, or in half a dozen other places. All those suggestions arise from pity and compassion, and there is as much difference between that and the real feeling which we want to inspire towards Zionism and towards the Jewish problem, as there is between Eretz Israel and *ersatz* Israel. Jews are being offered *ersatz* Israels all over the world, and the whole aim of every Zionist should be to explain to well-meaning, but ill-informed, friends that there is no possibility of an *ersatz* Israel until Eretz Israel is allowed to develop naturally, as was intended when the Balfour Declaration was signed.

The Balfour Declaration has, at least, in these twenty-five years, done one thing. The fortress of that Jewish self-respect which is so important, has been built in Eretz Israel itself, and is held by a garrison who, we know, will never fail —over five hundred thousand Jews in the Yishub, who will be its guardians and sentinels.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION:

THE ANGLO-JEWISH BACKGROUND

By Paul Goodman

I

IN the millennial annals of Israel the vicissitudes of the nation have been envisaged in the light of its classical, biblical past, and events are judged by the pattern and types which became throughout the ages the lodestars for the future. It is in this spirit that the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917 has been interpreted and accepted by the Jewish people as the counterpart of the decree of Cyrus, King of Persia, in the year 539 B.C.E., for the restoration of the Jews in the Babylonian exile to their land.

Contrary to the prevalent view, the formal undertaking by the British Government to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people was not a sudden or isolated measure necessitated by the military and political situation of the day. This solemn promise was the crowning act by the responsible British statesmen in the Great War of that policy which, as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, led the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, in spite of interested and popular clamour, to permit the re-settlement of Jews in the English realm, and created a tradition by which the British authoritics assumed the informal protection of the Jews in the Near East in general and in the Holy Land in particular (an attitude analogous to that adopted by France in the promotion of Christian interests in Syria).

The active support accorded to the politico-philanthropic activities of Sir Moses Montefiore by Queen Victoria and by successive prime ministers and foreign secretaries gave to the Jews in Palestine under the Turkish regime the advantage exercised on their behalf by the then incomparable prestige of England." Benjamin Disraeli's romantic pride in his Jewish

race found a sympathetic response among the nation whose imperial destiny he was privileged to shape. In British homes the people of the Old Testament and the ancient land they had made famous touched not only the imagination but the very heart-strings of the common folk. It was, thus, assuredly not owing to any fortuitous circumstances that David Lloyd George, moved by the spirit that had manifested itself in the Land of Israel, accorded his foremost support to the Restoration of Israel promised by the Jewish prophets of old; and, in the field of high world-policy, it was certainly in harmony with the fitness of things that Arthur James Balfour, the illustrious statesman who was to formulate the constitutional basis of the British Commonwealth, became the immortal protagonist of that partnership (as he himself termed it) between Britain and Jewry of which the Jewish national home in Palestine has become the living embodiment.

It is worthy of special record that since the constitution of the Zionist Organization at its First Congress, held in Basle in August 1897, with its programme for the establishment in Palestine, then under Turkish sovereignty, of a home for the Jewish people to be secured by public law, Zionism followed undeviatingly the obviously risky policy of an English orientation. Its main financial instruments—the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company, as well as the Jewish National Fund—were incorporated in England. This philo-English attitude was particularly manifested by Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist Organization, who, imbued with the liberal principles that once held sway in influential circles on the European continent, had his Zionist hopes set on the England idealized by him.

Theodor Herzl foresaw the part which England would play in the Zionist scheme of things when, in the course of political events, Palestine would pass from Turkey under the British sphere of influence.

In a communication he addressed in February 1898 to his

friends in Great Britain prior to the proposed foundation of the English Zionist Federation he wrote:

From the first moment I entered the Movement my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied.

Later the Fourth Zionist Congress was convened in London in the year 1900 in order to make a special appeal to British public opinion. To judge by later events, notably in 1917, his words then rung prophetically true:

England, mighty England, free England, with its world-embracing outlook, will understand us and our aspirations. With England as a starting point we may be sure that the Zionist idea will soar further and higher than ever before.

After his abortive attempts to influence the Sublime Porte in favour of an autonomous Jewish settlement, Herzl attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain on a small scale a British concession with that object in view at El Arish, on the Egyptian side of the border of Palestine. It was Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, who, after his return from his visit to South Africa, in 1903, offered the Zionist Organization a tract of land (on the Guas Ngishu plateau, commonly referred to as Uganda) in British East Africa for colonization by Jews with certain rights of self-government. It was an unprecedented and, in important respects, attractive offer by a Great Power, but it was rejected, since, as it was then said poignantly by those who stood in sore need of it, it was not Zion. The threads that were then woven between the British Government and the Zionists were, nevertheless, ultimately to lead Zionwards.

II

The long-delayed time for action, when the extensive estate of the Sick Man of Europe would be parcelled out to expectant heirs, came suddenly in 1914. But, at least so far

as the future of Palestine was concerned, the Jews seemed hopelessly divided, and Zionism certainly appeared fatally paralysed by the death of Theodor Herzl ten years before. The international Zionist Organization was broken into fragments by the impassable frontiers that divided the Jewish people during the tragic four years of the Great War. Yet, amidst the break-up of mighty empires and the disappearance of imperial dynasties, the frail Zionist movement—held together by the indestructible ideal of the Return to Zion—survived.

In those days again, it was to England that the eyes of Zionist Jews all over the world, in both camps of the belligerents, were turned. In Palestine itself, intrepid Jewish men and women braved the Turkish fury, and performed epic deeds of heroism to help the Allied cause. In spite of almost insuperable difficulties of communication, the Zionists of all countries made common cause in this direction, so that ultimately even the German Government found it expedient to urge upon its reluctant Turkish ally the necessity to grant to the Jews special concessions of self-government and the right of immigration into Palestine.

The leaders of the English Zionist Federation had, from its very beginnings, an almost instinctive realization of the far-reaching value of the English political support of Zionism, and in the pre-Declaration days, as in the years following, there were parliamentarians, like Josiah Wedgwood, whose names were popular and honoured among the Zionists not only in Britain but throughout the Jewish world. By 1917 Zionist aspirations found almost unanimous approval in both Houses of Parliament, not only among the leaders but among the rank and file. There were Zionist protagonists equally among Conservatives and Liberals, and British Labour (like the Labour International) was in full sympathy with the Zionist implications in the possible solution of the Jewish Question.

In conformity with the general trend of Zionist sympathies and aspirations, these became centred on British support.

Nahum Sokolow, the foremost Hebraic publicist of his time, who had long been a devoted friend of England among his compatriots in eastern Europe, found his way to London soon after the outbreak of the war. Here he represented officially the Zionist Central Executive, of which he was then the leading spirit. Later on he was joined by Jehiel Tschlenow, an accredited leader of the seven million Jewry of imperial Russia.

Ahad Ha'am (Usher Ginzberg), the exponent of the philosophy of Zionism, who had been living in London for some time past, was consulted as master and mentor; and, in spite of his presumed detachment of outlook, his special advocacy of a spiritual centre in Palestine proved complementary to the political aspirations of Zionism. There was Boris Goldberg, an organizer of the Russian Zionists in the dangerous days of Tsarism. A valiant Jewish patriot, in every sense, was Vladimir Jabotinsky, who carried through his idea of a Jewish Legion, to serve with the British in the conquest of Palestine—a project that, first opposed, was ultimately adopted by those responsible for Zionist policy.

Chaim Weizmann, on whom the mantle of Theodor Herzl was destined to fall, came from Geneva to Manchester University in 1904. Here he made his home and created a centre of Zionist influence, ardently supported by his wife Vera, a doctor of medicine, who took charge of a children's clinic in that city. It was during the general election in 1905 that, at the request of Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister at the time of the Uganda offer by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Weizmann explained to him the aims and ideals of Zionism—an event that, a decade afterwards, was to prove decisive to the fortunes of the movement.

It was thus in England that the ground was being effectively prepared for the Zionist objective. There were outstanding individuals, like Moses Gaster, the spiritual head of the Sephardi Community, and Leopold J. Greenberg, the editor of

the influential *Jewish Chronicle*, who, by virtue of their positions, were able to act in favour of Zionist aspirations on their own. As an essentially democratic movement, Zionism had, however, to rely on the popular and organized support represented by the English Zionist Federation. In August 1914 a private conference was held in London for the purpose of considering the Zionist situation that had been created by the outbreak of the war, and British Zionists were warned that 'the future is big with fate.'

III

While the English Zionist Federation gave its general support to a Provisional Committee for Zionist Affairs, then established in New York, action on purely British lines was decided upon by the creation of a Zionist Political Committee for the United Kingdom. At the instance of Joseph Cowen, the president of the Federation, and Chaim Weizmann, a conference was convened at the Hotel Great Central in London on 23rd January 1916, at which the following attended: Ahad Ha'am, Herbert Bentwich, Samuel Daiches, Boris Goldberg, J. K. Goldbloom, Paul Goodman, Benjamin Grad, L. J. Greenberg, V. Jabotinsky, S. B. Rubenstein, Leon Simon, and Nahum Sokolow. Dr. Weizmann submitted his views as to the manner and scope of Zionist political action in England, and a committee was thereupon established to direct the Zionist political activities in England. Mr. Sokolow, Dr. Tschlenow, Dr. Moses Gaster, Dr. Weizmann, and Mr. Bentwich were appointed the Zionist Executive for England, Joseph Cowen being elected chairman and Paul Goodman honorary secretary.

This first Zionist political committee had a treble task: it had to maintain contact with the scattered Zionist bodies abroad; to deal with the powerful anti-Zionist opposition in the Anglo-Jewish community; and to create pro-Zionist sympathies in influential non-Jewish circles.

Apart from the Russian Zionists, with whom certain circuitous communications were being maintained, there was a Zionist bureau in neutral Copenhagen, reflecting the views held by the German Zionists; the head office of the Jewish National Fund at The Hague, affording a common meeting ground; and the Provisional Zionist Executive in New York, represented, among others, by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. As events proved, the contacts established with the Russian and American Zionists were of extraordinary consequence to the successful activities of the Zionists in London.

The anti-Zionists were grouped in the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association—a formidable opposition to Zionism, particularly since the committee presumed to voice the most influential elements of British Jewry. The protracted negotiations between the Zionists and their opponents failed utterly, for their respective views of the destiny of the Jewish people (in so far as the anti-Zionists admitted the existence of a Jewish people) were fundamentally irreconcilable.

Meanwhile, the political committee was developing various proposals with regard to the future of a Jewish Palestine. A memorandum was drawn up for eventual presentation to the British Government. By October 1916 there was drafted an 'Outline of Programme for a new Administration of Palestine and for a Jewish Resettlement of Palestine in accordance with the Aspirations of the Zionist Movement' (a title which became simply a 'Scheme for a new Administration of Palestine and its Resettlement by Jews'). This document, which incorporated Herzl's idea of a Jewish company with a charter for the Jewish colonization of Palestine, was repeatedly revised by the political committee, and formed the basis of ideas underlying the subsequent British mandate for Palestine.

The political committee held its last sitting on 21st

January 1917, and the progress made by then has thus been summed up by the present writer in his *Zionism in England*:

The political work of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow had by then made considerable progress, and, on the threshold of important developments, they did not hesitate to inform the Committee that it was no longer possible for the official representatives of the Zionist Organization to be hampered and bound by the suggestions and criticisms of a Committee that, after all, was only of a consultative character. On the other hand, the members of the Committee recognized that, while the representatives of the Zionist Organization were carrying on with Government authorities negotiations of a highly delicate nature, it was not possible for such a Committee either to demand or to assume responsibility. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow had, by their political activities, won the confidence of the British and other Allied Governments as well as the official support of Zionist bodies in various parts of the world. The Committee, therefore, appropriately ended its career with a vote of confidence in the men in charge—a confidence that subsequent events proved to have been well deserved.

Among those who assisted Dr. Weizmann, special mention should be made of a group of Manchester Zionists, comprising Simon Marks, Israel M. Sieff, and Harry Sacher, who, since his pre-war days in Manchester until the present time, have not only been intimate counsellors of Dr. Weizmann but whose unfailing generosity has throughout stood the Zionist cause in good stead. The increasing pressure of political events brought about the formation in August 1917 of a more official body under the title of 'Zionist Organization, London Bureau,' which, though only of an advisory character, exercised a decisive influence on the political development of Zionism. This committee, set up by Mr. Sokolow and Dr. Weizmann, included the following: Ahad Ha'am, Herbert Bentwich, Joseph Cowen, J. Ettinger, S. Goldreich, Paul Goodman, Albert M. Hyamson, V. Jabotinsky, L. Kessler, S. D. Levontin, Simon Marks, Harry Sacher, Israel M. Sieff, Leon Simon, and S. Tolkowsky.

If there was any doubt as to the extent of pro-Zionist feeling that had been developing in the Anglo-Jewish community

under the impact of events, this was manifested by two separate but simultaneous publications in the crucial period of 1916, when public opinion was being formed. *Zionism and the Jewish Future*, edited by Harry Sacher (with the co-operation of Leon Simon and Albert M. Hyamson), and *Zionism: Problems and Views* (with an introduction by Max Nordau), edited by Paul Goodman and Arthur Lewis, rallied to the Zionist stand-point the spiritual and a considerable number of the intellectual leaders of Anglo-Jewry. In May 1917 the English Zionist Federation began the issue of an official organ, the *Zionist Review*, under the editorship of Albert M. Hyamson and Leon Simon, and, since 1920, edited by Paul Goodman. This monthly journal played, from the first, a particularly noteworthy part, not only in focusing public attention on Zionist issues, but also in recording in a special supplement commemorating the Balfour Declaration the views of most British politicians and leading public men of that time giving their approval of the Zionist policy adopted by the Government in November 1917—documentary evidence that was used with withering effect by Mr. Winston Churchill when, in 1922, he defended the Zionist policy of the Government by the grant of the Rutenberg concession in Palestine against Mr. Joynson-Hicks (Lord Brentford) and other anti-Zionists who stood on record as having previously welcomed the Balfour Declaration.

It was the good fortune of Dr. Weizmann, already at the beginning of the Great War, to have come into contact with C. P. Scott, the famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, whose support of Zionism has remained one of its great moral assets. Mr. Scott was sufficiently impressed with the Zionist aims to draw to it the attention of Mr. Lloyd George, who, in December 1914, brought about a meeting between Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Herbert Samuel, then a member of the Government, which was to prove of inestimable value in the future developments.

Herbert Sidebotham, another distinguished English publicist, known to the readers of the *Manchester Guardian* as a 'Student

of War,' was one of those who formed the British Palestine Committee, which published a small but admirable weekly, entitled *Palestine*, during the Zionist struggle for recognition of a Jewish Palestine in British political circles, and dealt with the British aspects of the Zionist problems in a way that could not be bettered. The British Palestine Committee, while independent of the Zionist Organization, boldly proclaimed on its front page the following sentiments then and still animating many Jewish and Christian Zionists, not only in Britain, but all over the world:

The British Palestine Committee seeks to reset the ancient glories of the Jewish nation in the freedom of a new British Dominion in Palestine.

The conflict between the Zionists and the official leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community, which began immediately after the outbreak of the war, and the attempted formulation of Jewish post-war policy, reached its culminating point by the publication of a letter in *The Times* on 24th May 1917, in which Mr. D. L. Alexander, K.C., as president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Mr. C. C. Montefiore, president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, on behalf of the Conjoint Foreign Committee representing both bodies, set out the views presumably held by these bodies on the Jewish future of Palestine. This communication, drawn up by Mr. Lucien Wolf, an eminent historian strongly opposed to Jewish nationalism, was issued at a critical moment in the Zionist negotiations with the British Government, and was a challenge that was taken up by those who denied the right of the communal oligarchy then in power to speak not only for the Jewish community in England but for the whole of the Jewish people.

The English Zionist Federation had previously, towards the close of 1915, initiated a declaration, expressing an earnest desire for 'the establishment of a publicly recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine, as formulated

by the First Zionist Congress in 1897,' and it was indicative of the growing sympathies with Zionist aspirations among the Anglo-Jewish community that, out of a population of under 300,000 souls, 77,039 adult Jews and Jewesses gave their signed adhesion to this declaration, which was ultimately presented to the Peace Conference in 1919. The Zionist Federation maintained a vigorous organizing activity, the effects of which were manifested at its annual conference on 11th February 1917. On the spontaneous retirement of Joseph Cowen from the presidency, Dr. Weizmann was then elected the president of the Federation, so that he might be vested with an official status in his representation of Zionist interests. To give demonstrative emphasis to the Zionist demands, a special conference of the English Zionist Federation was held on 20th May at which Dr. Weizmann made, to a committee of the conference, a confidential statement on the pending negotiations with the British Government. On a proposal by Dr. S. Brodetsky, who reported on behalf of this committee, the conference unanimously expressed its 'keen appreciation of the work done and satisfaction with the results achieved.' In response to an appeal by the Federation—which was then, as it was for a further two decades and more, under the devoted and effective leadership of the Rev. J. K. Goldbloom—two hundred and fifty Jewish communities, organizations, and institutions all over the United Kingdom passed the following resolutions:

That this meeting, being unanimously in favour of the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people, trusts that His Majesty's Government will use its best endeavours for the achievement of this object.

That this mass meeting pledges itself to support the Zionist leaders in their efforts towards the realization of the Zionist aims.

Among those bodies which were instrumental in effecting a communal revolution in 1917, at least, in so far as the 'foreign' policy of the Anglo-Jewish community was concerned, the

B'nai Brith stood out pre-eminent. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, the First Lodge of England (in London) considered the position of the Jews as it might arise at the conclusion of hostilities. At a meeting of the lodge on 3rd January 1915, Dr. Weizmann (a member of the council of the Manchester Lodge) initiated the discussion, and a resolution was adopted recommending 'the formation of a representative committee which may co-operate with the existing communal organizations in making the necessary representations to the British Government.' As the result of further discussions, a Jewish Emergency Committee was appointed, composed of the following B'nai Brith: Simon Rowson (president), Herbert Bentwich, Dr. M. Gaster, Paul Goodman, Benjamin Grad, Dr. Jacob Snowman, Nahum Sokolow, S. Wallach, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann.

The B'nai Brith, forming part of a widespread and influential brotherhood, with its headquarters in the United States, had the advantage of including men of all shades of political and religious opinion, but they were all definitely opposed to the power exercised on behalf of the community by the Conjoint Foreign Committee, of which its secretary, Lucien Wolf, was both the guide and spokesman. The breakdown of attempted negotiations between the B'nai Brith and the Conjoint Committee, who declined any proposed co-operation, either with the American Grand Lodge or through the London Lodge of the B'nai Brith, as being against Jewish interests generally, led to the appointment of the Jewish Emergency Committee referred to, and on 29th October 1916 the following resolution was adopted by the London Lodge:

That it be an instruction to the Jewish Emergency Committee to draw up and submit to the Lodge by the end of the year a Statement in connection with the War Settlement, setting forth the representations of the B'nai Brith in regard to the civil and political rights of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the special Jewish interests in Palestine.

The lodge adopted a memorandum by Paul Goodman,

entitled *The Jews and Palestine*, which contained a demand for 'the creation of an autonomous Jewish community in Palestine, which will serve as the centre of the Jewish race.' At an opportune moment — in May 1917 — this document was circulated among the members of the Government and all Members of Parliament.

The publication of the letter on Palestine by the Conjoint Foreign Committee in *The Times* on 24th May 1917 was considered at a special meeting of the London Lodge on 7th June. A letter from Dr. Weizmann stated that he was prepared to see the lodge, in co-operation with other organizations, take the lead in calling an Anglo-Jewish Congress to deal with the situation that had arisen. It was decided to convene a committee consisting of all those brethren of the lodge who were members of the Jewish Board of Deputies for the purpose of taking the necessary action to ensure the passage of a condemnatory resolution on the Conjoint Committee's statement at the next meeting of the Board. This measure found support among a considerable number of deputies (headed by Lord Rothschild and organized by S. Gilbert, the then president of the lodge), which led to the adoption by the Board of the following resolution by fifty-six votes to fifty-one:

That this Board, having considered the views of the Conjoint Committee as promulgated in the communication published in *The Times* of 24th May 1917, expresses profound disapproval of such views and dissatisfaction at the publication thereof, and declares that the Conjoint Committee has lost the confidence of the Board, and calls upon its representatives on the Conjoint Committee to resign their appointment forthwith.

This vote of censure, entirely on the Palestine issue, marked the end of the *ancien régime* of the Board. Mr. D. L. Alexander, K.C., Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, and Mr. Joshua M. Levy resigned their offices of president, vice-president, and treasurer respectively, and the arrangement between the Board and the Anglo-Jewish Association constituting the Conjoint

Foreign Committee terminated. Sir Stuart M. Samuel, Bart., although not a member of the Board, accepted the office of president. Lord Rothschild became a vice-president and Nathan Laski, the recognized head of the Manchester Jewish community, who had been foremost in the opposition to the anti-Zionist policy of the Conjoint Committee, was elected the treasurer of the Board. It was, however, not only the change of the official personnel of the representative body of Anglo-Jewry, but the spirit that henceforth animated the deliberations and actions of the Board that marked the break with the past. In spite of the prestige formerly enjoyed by the leaders of the Board of Deputies, the Anglo-Jewish community had now manifested overwhelmingly, and beyond any further doubt, that it stood behind the Zionist demand for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

IV

An indirect, but psychologically the most effective, influence that turned the scales in favour of Zionist aspirations was the extraordinary contribution which Dr. Weizmann, as a scientist, made to the British war effort. Dr. Weizmann, who was lecturer in biochemistry at Manchester University, moved to London in 1916, and entered on researches in explosives for the Ministry of Munitions and the Admiralty, then under Lloyd George and Balfour respectively. Here he made discoveries for the manufacture of acetone on a large scale, which he placed entirely at the disposal of the British Government. What this meant for the conduct of the war has been stated authoritatively by Mr. Lloyd George: that he 'felt a debt of gratitude, and so did the Allies, to the brilliant scientific genius of Dr. Weizmann.'

An organic link between the Zionist war effort and the conquest of Palestine by Lord Allenby was constituted by a Jewish military unit in his forces. The Jewish Regiment (known also

as the Judaeans), which consisted of the 38th-42nd battalions of the Royal Fusiliers, had as its predecessor the Zion Mule Corps, of about 700 men, formed in March 1915 on the initiative of the heroic Captain Joseph Trumpeldor (later of Tel Hai fame), and composed largely of Palestinian Jews. They served in Gallipoli with distinction under Lieut.-Col. J. H. Patterson, D.S.O., a truly gallant Irish officer, with a special pride in the exploits of this, historically remarkable, Jewish military unit (as described in his book, *With the Zionists in Gallipoli*). Col. Patterson was now also placed in command of the Jewish Regiment, with Lieut. Vladimir Jabotinsky as his right-hand man. In these times, in the second world war, when there is an unequal struggle for the official recognition of a specifically Jewish military unit, it is of special interest to recall that in July 1917 the British War Office made arrangements for the formation of a regiment of infantry to be composed of Jews. However, on representations of a Jewish deputation, headed by Major Lionel de Rothschild, that waited upon him, the Earl of Derby, the Secretary for War, stated that, apart from certain religious facilities, the regiment could not, at least at first, have the title of Jewish or a Jewish badge, but that it was intended to employ the unit in Palestine. Two of the three battalions that were formed (numbering 9,600 men, including 6,000 from the United States and Canada) were eventually on active service in the Palestine campaign, with the Menorah as their badge, and were mentioned by Lord Allenby in dispatches as Jewish troops.

V

In the goodly company of those prominent members of the Anglo-Jewish community who aided the Zionist cause was, of course, Walter, the second Lord Rothschild, although he disclaimed being as much interested in the Zionist objective in Palestine as his noble kinsman, Baron Edmond, of Paris. His

effective protest against the anti-Zionist officers of the Jewish Board of Deputies was, therefore, all the more remarkable, and earned for him the distinction of having been chosen as the recipient of the Balfour Declaration. Baron Edmond's son, James, who served with the Jewish Regiment at the Palestine front, and in 1920 became a British subject (and later on a Member of Parliament), has given to the Jewish national home his unstinted support.

The outstanding part taken in the issue of the Balfour Declaration by Herbert Samuel (now Viscount Samuel of Mount Carmel), preceding and following the Zionist negotiations with the British Government, arose out of a deep faith in the historic destiny of the Jewish people. During his five years' term of office (1920–5) as the first British High Commissioner for Palestine, the political statesmanship of his administration was subjected to criticism, on different grounds, both by Jews and Arabs; but he and Lady Samuel gave to this initial period of the Jewish national home a Jewish aspect which, in the succession of High Commissioners, has remained unique and has left ineffaceable memories in the Yishub.

Around the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish national home there has arisen the saga of the Mond-Rufus Isaacs families which Jewish history will retell to future generations. Alfred Mond's return to his people and his dauntless Zionist leadership were as unparalleled as the career of Daniel Rufus Isaacs, who, particularly in later years, also warmly espoused the Jewish cause. The sons of the first Lord Melchett and the first Marquess of Reading have maintained their Jewish heritage, and Eva Mond, the Marchioness of Reading, has by her personal devotion enriched the development of Jewish Palestine.

Most notable in the powerful Jewish opposition on the part of anti-Zionist influences that were brought to bear upon the Government was the attitude of Edwin Samuel Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, a determined advocate of

Turkish and Mohammedan interests. He demanded to be heard on the Zionist issue as a Jew, to wit, as an anti-Zionist Jew, who was concerned with the possibly threatened status of emancipated, assimilated Jews, as well as the unfavourable effect the Government's pro-Zionist policy might have on the Moslems in India and elsewhere.

But, in the ultimate result, the intervention of Chief Rabbi Dr. Joseph H. Hertz proved conclusive. The Government, finding it difficult to satisfy the conflicting Jewish views, agreed to elicit the observations on the draft of the proposed Declaration of three of each contending side, and, at the same time, to invite the opinion of the Chief Rabbi as the spiritual head of British Jewry. Dr. Hertz, although an American citizen, had staunchly upheld the British side in South Africa during his tenure of office as Rabbi of Johannesburg, and had by his characteristically forthright attitude at a critical time, which led to his expulsion from the Transvaal by President Kruger, won the confidence and personal esteem of Lord Milner, now a member of the War Cabinet. Although he had long been associated with the Zionist movement, the reply by Dr. Hertz on the Palestine issue was not necessarily a foregone conclusion. There had grown up among the Jewish communities in western lands an implicit tradition that the rabbinical authorities left secular policy to be decided by the lay administration. In the case of Dr. Hertz, his independent, outspoken judgment on the Jewish future of Palestine was, however, entirely contrary to the views held and put forward by the official lay leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community. This great Jewish ecclesiastic, who proved to be a veritable *Resh Geluta* of the English-speaking Jewish Diaspora, gave unreservedly his decision in support of those 'Jewish Zionist aspirations' that were ultimately recognized in the Balfour Declaration.

VI

The text of the Declaration that was issued on 2nd November 1917 by Arthur James Balfour, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, underwent various substantial changes before it reached the final redaction. Leading members of the Anglo-Jewish community, who were admittedly out of sympathy with Jewish nationalism, were consulted, and their views and suggestions taken into account in formulating the text. The final effect of these reservations proved a severe restriction of the Zionist hopes. Whereas the Zionists had put forward the proposal that Palestine, as a whole, was to be reconstituted as the Jewish national home in accordance with the Jewish national aspirations of the Zionist movement, the ultimate text of the Balfour Declaration stated that, being in sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, the British Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and would use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object.

VII

After the agonies of the three years of the Great War, the Jewish world received the Declaration almost as if heralding the advent of the promised Messianic age, and from Moscow to Buenos Aires, from New York to Johannesburg, there was a great stirring of the dry bones of Israel, as if in realization of the prophetic vision of Ezekiel.

At the meeting held at the London Opera House on 2nd December 1917, to celebrate the issue of the Declaration, Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Viscount Cecil of Chelwood), a member of the Government, thrilled the audience by his exclamation: 'The Arabian lands for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judaea for the Jews.'

The Government marked its practical support to the Zionists by authorizing and encouraging with extensive functions the departure for Palestine in September 1918—before the conclusion of the war—of a Zionist Commission, headed by Dr. Weizmann, of which Joseph Cowen, Leon Simon, and Israel M. Sieff were the first English members. The return of Dr. Weizmann was enthusiastically acclaimed on the first anniversary of the Declaration at a special conference of the English Zionist Federation at the Queen's Hall, presided over by the Rev. J. K. Goldbloom and welcomed by Mr. Sokolow.

On 24th April 1920 the representatives of the Allied Powers, then conferring at San Remo, agreed to incorporate the Balfour Declaration in the peace terms to be submitted to Turkey, and Great Britain formally assumed the position of the Mandatory Power in Palestine on behalf of the League of Nations. The historic Zionist meeting that was held at the Albert Hall in London on 12th July 1920 had Mr. Balfour among its speakers; and, in the presence of the author of the Declaration, Max Nordau, the venerable Zionist tribune and collaborator of Theodor Herzl, proclaimed to the vast audience the identity of interests and the partnership of Israel and Britain in Palestine.

VIII

Whilst the Jews in both hemispheres were, during the first years of the war, fundamentally divided as to the Jewish future of Palestine, the belligerent Governments then took no account whatsoever of the Jews, whose religious and racial attachment to their ancestral country was ignored in the secret agreements arrived at between the Allied Powers. Orthodox Russia, which, for many decades, had systematically schemed to stake out claims and to exercise a preponderant power in the Holy Land, made arrangements with its Allies which would have been fatal to Jewish hopes. As, towards the end of 1916, Tsarist

Russia fell out of the Allied plans, France and Great Britain concluded an agreement whereby, under the Sykes-Picot Treaty, Palestine was placed within the British sphere of influence and Syria under the French. In this pact, too, the Jews were not considered.

The British Government was, in any case, so preoccupied with the conduct of the war and its manifold major complications, that the Zionists could obtain no effective hearing even from those few British statesmen who might have been sympathetically inclined. Mr. Herbert Samuel, a member of the Government, who did bring the matter to the attention of the then Prime Minister, found on the part of Mr. Asquith a cool reception for the Zionist idea, as being, to his legal and sober mind, too romantic and remote from all realities.

The fact that the war went badly for the Allies, and that the United States of America were averse to any active participation in the conflict on their side, brought unexpectedly the Jewish element to the fore. It gradually came to be recognized in London that the sympathies of the American Jews, whose pro-Allied sentiments were withheld owing to the barbarities inflicted by Tsarist Russia upon its Jewish subjects, could be won if the British Government took the lead in a pro-Jewish gesture, whereby, in the event of the conquest of Palestine from the Turks, the Jews would be accorded a special place in the land of their forefathers.

A great deal of the credit for having effectively moved British Government circles in that direction was due to Mr. James A. Malcolm, of the Armenian National Delegation, who, with a wide and intimate knowledge of affairs in the Near and Middle East, sensed the extraordinary effect which an offer by the Allies of an autonomous Jewish settlement in Palestine would have on the Jews of America and elsewhere. Through Sir Mark Sykes, of the Foreign Office, who was not only a high authority on Middle Eastern affairs, but a very good friend of the Arab and Armenian peoples oppressed by the Ottoman

Government, Mr. Malcolm was enabled in October 1916 to bring the matter to the attention of the War Cabinet, and was authorized to get into contact with Zionist leaders. A meeting between Malcolm and L. J. Greenberg, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, led to an interview between Sir Mark Sykes and Mr. Sokolow, which thus opened negotiations between representatives of the British Government and the Zionists. A more formal discussion with Sir Mark Sykes (whose active mediation proved invaluable) took place at Haham Moses Gaster's house in February 1917, at which Sokolow, Tschenlow, Weizmann, James de Rothschild, and Herbert Samuel were among the Jewish spokesmen. The Zionist case had, at last, found a hearing. With David Lloyd George, Arthur J. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, and Lord Milner in the War Cabinet, with its secretaries L. S. Amery and W. Ormsby-Gore (both of whose services to the Jewish national home later on, too, were of outstanding importance), the Zionist sympathies of those responsible for the ultimate decision relating to the future of Palestine in the event of an Allied victory appeared assured.

The immediate effect was striking. The Zionists were recognized as being valuable coadjutors. Messages in cipher were sent through the Foreign Office on behalf of the Zionists in London to Justice Brandeis and other leading Zionists abroad intimating to them the dramatic turn of events. Zionist propaganda in support of the Allies became part of the machinery of the British Ministry of Information under Lord Northcliffe, and the London Bureau of the Zionist Organization was granted every facility required for its activities.

During 1917 there were in the War Cabinet two statesmen who, impelled by their personal sympathies as well as by virtue of their official positions, finally set the seal of the British Government upon the acceptance of the Jewish Zionist aspirations: David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, and Arthur James Balfour, the Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Lloyd George, already as a member of the Asquith administration, was foremost in the advocacy of the Zionist ideal. To his Welsh nationalism, his biblical association with the people of Israel, and his vivid imagination, Zionism appealed with exceptional force. But there was also his wide sweep of mind which, in the interests of Great Britain, no less than for the advancement of human freedom, saw in the installation of the friendly Jewish people at a vital artery of the British Empire a great opportunity. He has, in fact, understated the motive that induced the British Government to seek Jewish support as 'due to propagandist reasons.' For there was much more to it than calculated, even though far-seeing, politics. It was a measure of statesmanship in the reconstruction of the world to which he had to set his hand after the Allied victory. Still, true always to British interests, the Government remained on solid ground on the Zionist issue; for, to quote Mr. Lloyd George:

The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that, if the Allies committed themselves to giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the Allied cause. They kept their word.

In the case of Arthur James Balfour, there was a nobility of judgment of human affairs, of a philosophical detachment that rose loftily above the cross-currents and prejudices that have too often affected the views and actions of non-Jews who have had to deal with the intricate problems of the Jewish people. Balfour, with Jewish friends and associates who were opposed to Jewish nationalism, and were justly proud of their British birthright and their assured place in English life, realized, nevertheless, that, apart from favoured Jewish individuals and groups, there was the Jewish people, homeless, yearning more than any other historically recognized racial or national entity for a permanently secured place on the soil and in the sun. He set his mind to provide for this gifted but unhappy people,

deprived of the elementary right of human society to govern itself, a part of the world that was hallowed by an incomparably great past in which the Jewish genius would take root and flower again. And, to the end of his life, Lord Balfour never wavered in his faith in the millennial Jewish ideal to which he had been privileged to give substance and shape.

IX

The preceding record of the struggle in England must be supplemented by a delineation of the most important endeavours and the ultimate success of the Zionists in the United States of America. The war and the consequent upheaval affecting the Jews in eastern Europe evoked, not only the practical and generous aid of the great Jewry across the Atlantic—itself mostly of recent European origin—but aroused its own racial consciousness. Inspired by Shmaryah Levin and other Zionist leaders, Jews in America, either absorbed in their local problems or self-centred in their American patriotism, became increasingly aware of the implications of the Zionist ideal if Judaism and the Jewish people were to survive.

An American Jewish Congress associated itself with the Zionist demands, and indicated its faith in England by expressing the hope that Palestine would become a Jewish commonwealth under the trusteeship of Great Britain.

The effects of these developments were particularly apparent as the United States entered into a more direct contact with the problems arising out of the war, and became conscious of the part to be played by that mighty land in the peace settlement. The beneficent influence exercised by the American Jews, led by Louis D. Brandeis, one of the great figures of American public life at that time, and similar men of idealism and vision, manifested itself in the policy by which President Woodrow Wilson (and subsequently a unanimous Congress) approved and supported the Balfour Declaration.

No less valuable was not only the formal official recognition accorded through Mr. Sokolow's efforts to the Zionist claims by the Governments of France and Italy, but the sympathetic spirit in which it was supported by almost all leading French and Italian statesmen. Even the Vatican gave, later on, its qualified consent. It may here be recalled that, at the conclusion of an audience granted in 1917 to Mr. Sokolow by Pope Benedict XV, His Holiness made the memorable remark to the Zionist leader: 'We shall be good neighbours.'

The representatives of the great British Dominions were, of course, a party to the proposed establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, not only in approving the policy of the Balfour Declaration as co-signatories of the peace treaties, but continuously at subsequent stages. From the beginning, and throughout the later developments, the Jews have found a warm-hearted friend in General Jan Christiaan Smuts, one of the pillars of the latter-day British Commonwealth of Nations, who regarded the Jewish settlement in Palestine, under the protection of the Commonwealth, as an act of moral reparation due from Christendom to the Jewish people. On the twenty-fourth anniversary, General Smuts summed up his confession of faith in the Jewish future of Palestine in terms not to be misunderstood:

The Balfour Declaration was not a mere accident, but in its large historic setting and in its solemn legal form is one of the greatest acts of history. . . . It still stands on rock foundations, and the structure that will arise from it will be greater than the Declaration itself.

X

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

The text of the above document, known as the Balfour Declaration, was approved by President Woodrow Wilson before its publication, and publicly endorsed in 1918 by the allied French and Italian Governments. Moreover, it was included in the Palestine Mandate, the preamble of which states:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on 2nd November 1917 by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood . . .

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country . . .

Article 2 of the Mandate states:

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble. . . .

But since, in practice even more than in theory, the Balfour Declaration came to be interpreted in various ways, it fell to Mr. Winston Churchill, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, to issue in June 1922 the following statement of British policy in Palestine:

So far as the Jewish population of Palestine are concerned, it appears

that some among them are apprehensive that His Majesty's Government may depart from the policy embodied in the Declaration of 1917. It is necessary, therefore, once more to affirm that these fears are unfounded, and that that Declaration, reaffirmed by the Conference of the Principal Allied Powers at San Remo, and again in the Treaty of Sèvres, is not susceptible of change.

During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organization for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its towns and country population, its political, religious, and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has, in fact 'national' characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.

This, then, is the interpretation which His Majesty's Government place upon the Declaration of 1917, and, so understood, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it does not contain or imply anything which need cause either alarm to the Arab population of Palestine or disappointment to the Jews.

This statement of policy was made after the grave difficulties which, owing to Arab disturbances, had arisen in the country, and both Sir Herbert Samuel and Mr. Winston Churchill

considered it necessary to allay Arab opposition. It was just before the draft mandate for Palestine was about to be submitted for confirmation to the Council of the League of Nations that the Zionist Executive was called upon by the British Government to accept the terms of the foregoing statement of British policy in Palestine. It gave the formal undertaking that 'the activities of the Zionist Organization will be conducted in conformity with the policy therein set out.'

It is not proposed to enter here at length into the details of the political issues which surrounded, and have arisen out of, the Balfour Declaration, but it may be said that, beyond any doubt, 'the Jewish Zionist aspirations,' to which reference is made in the Declaration, went far beyond the terms laid down in the statement of policy in 1922.

What, in short, were 'the Jewish Zionist aspirations' with regard to the future of Palestine?

There is the historic reply by Dr. Weizmann to the question by Mr. Robert Lansing, the American Secretary of State, when the Jewish delegation presented their demands to the Council of Ten at the Peace Conference in 1919—that he expected that Palestine would become Jewish as America is American and England is English. The Zionist spokesman expressed the millennial prayer of the Jewish people, based on the promises and prophecies in that noble Jewish literature which the Christian world has accepted as the very Word of God. In a less rhetorical and in a sober, constitutional way, the Zionist delegation sought to obtain from the principal Allied and Associated Powers the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their national homeland. In its proposals to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, the Zionist Organization asked, *inter alia*, that the sovereign possession of Palestine should be vested in the League of Nations, and the government entrusted to Great Britain as mandatory of the League (the last demand, incidentally, on the ground that 'this is the wish of the Jewish world'); that, under the mandate, Palestine was to be placed under

such political, administrative, and economic conditions as shall secure the establishment there of an autonomous commonwealth. The subsequent Zionist proposals in the formulation of the mandate, and the motives which impelled them, were guided by the assumption that, in the course of time, the Palestine Commonwealth would ultimately become preponderantly, though not, of course, exclusively Jewish.

It might, not unreasonably, be asserted that 'the Jewish Zionist aspirations,' however justified from the Jewish point of view, were not necessarily endorsed by the British Government that issued the Balfour Declaration. But on this the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, published in 1937, is conclusive.

In fact, it is now a matter of history that, considering all the circumstances, the Palestine Royal Commission recommended that a sovereign independent Jewish State (in a treaty of alliance with Great Britain) should be established in a part of Palestine, and that the mandatory should support the request of any such Jewish State for admission to the League of Nations.

The Report summarized the purport of the Balfour Declaration (at the end of Chapter II) as follows:

In 1917 the British Government promised to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish People in Palestine provided that the civil and religious rights of the Arabs and other non-Jews were not prejudiced; and the Jews understood that, if the experiment succeeded, the National Home would develop in course of time into a Jewish State.

On the question as to what was intended by those who were responsible for the issue of the Balfour Declaration and, to a certain extent, for the implementation of the mandate (which includes the Declaration in its preamble), the Peel Report (on pp. 24 and 25) is explicit:

We have been permitted to examine the records which bear upon the question and it is clear to us that the words 'the establishment in Palestine of a National Home' were the outcome of a compromise between

those Ministers who contemplated the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State and those who did not. It is obvious in any case that His Majesty's Government could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish State. It could only undertake to facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home would grow big enough to become a State. Mr. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, informed us in evidence that:

"The idea was, and this was the interpretation put upon it at the time, that a Jewish State was not to be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth."

Thus His Majesty's Government evidently realized that a Jewish State might in course of time be established, but it was not in a position to say that this would happen, still less to bring it about of its own motion. The Zionist leaders, for their part, recognized that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration, and so it was understood elsewhere. 'I am persuaded,' said President Wilson on 3rd March 1919, 'that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.' General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, speaking at Johannesburg on 3rd November 1919, foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine, and 'in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more.' Lord Robert Cecil in 1917, Sir Herbert Samuel in 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill in 1920 spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State. Leading British newspapers were equally explicit in their comments on the Declaration.

In reproducing the text of the statement on British policy in Palestine issued by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922, the Report adds (p. 33):

This definition of the National Home has sometimes been taken to .

preclude the establishment of a Jewish State. But, though the phraseology was clearly intended to conciliate, as far as might be, Arab antagonism to the National Home, there is nothing in it to prohibit the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State, and Mr. Churchill himself has told us in evidence that no such prohibition was intended.

In 1942, twenty-five years after the Balfour Declaration, it may be in place to recall a remarkable statement by the present Prime Minister of England in which he manifested that truly prophetic vision of the Jewish future in Palestine that, as a parallel, he showed in 'the finest hour' of the British Commonwealth. Writing in 1920, Mr. Churchill said:

If, as may well be, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Facsimile of Balfour Declaration

The Earl of Balfour

Dr. Chaim Weizmann

Dr. Nahum Sokolow

President Woodrow Wilson

Justice Louis D. Brandeis

Facsimile of letter from Field-Marshal Smuts

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

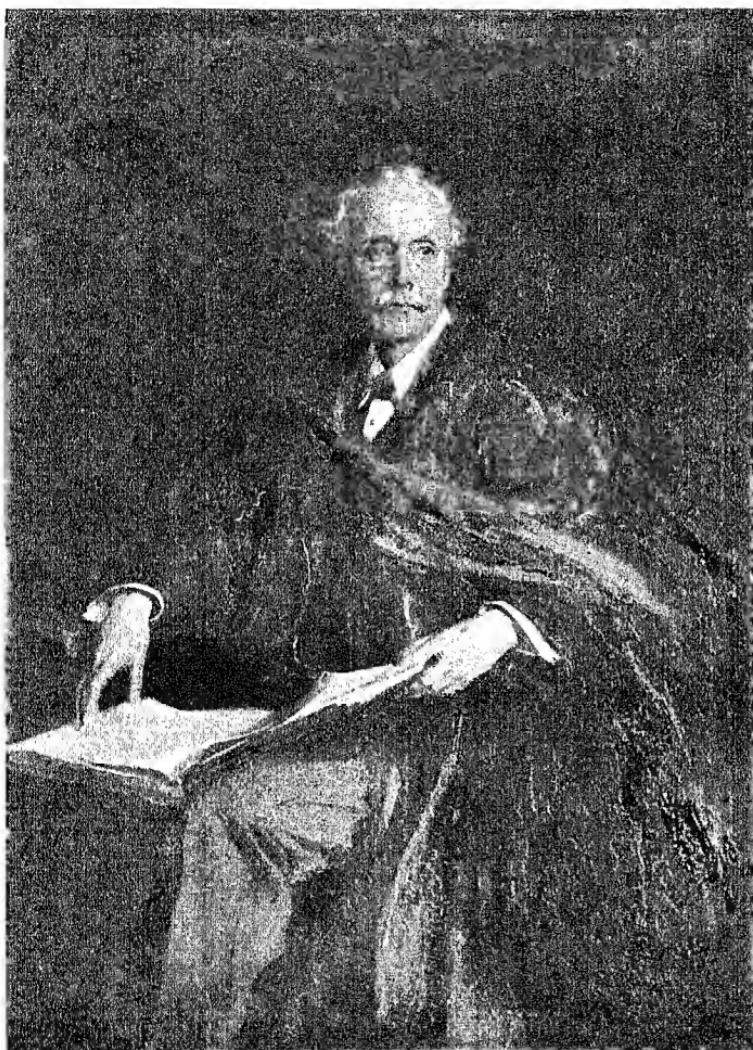
I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

*Y. S.
A. J. Balfour*

Facsimile of the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917



The Earl of Balfour



Photo. Paul Laib

Dr. Chaim Weizmann



Photo. Underwood & Underwood Studios, N.Y.

Dr. Nahum Sokolow



President Woodrow Wilson



Justice Louis D. Brandeis

TELEGRAMS - TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGES

HYDE PARK HOTEL KNIGHTSBRIDGE,
LONDON. S.W.1.

30. 45. 47

Der alte Diegel

Thank you for your letter and your
written, or belated, or long-oversight
Committee, had I named offhand the Preexisting
and Post-war Committee with the characteristic

Mr Beller Debunker.
I much appreciate your effort. I
entertain well beyond my offense. I
will be sure to share you all your friends
with any family in need. Debunker.

Business needed) the Province of
the National Home should be carried
out to the letter, as it is my belief
that the Colonies expect their home
will give effect to the same as practicable.
to the fulfillment of that Province. To
this I have dedicated my whole
attention and reflect it has. Now
one thing may stand in the path
of both and that that Province
without your wife's
Sincerely yours
W. M. Hunt

Facsimile of letter from Field-Marshal Smuts on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

had brought the reinforcement of Herbert Samuel's interest, Samuel being an outstanding member of the Liberal Government and of the Asquith Cabinet. We were kept in close and constant touch with the English group, soon to come under the dominance of the young Manchester chemist, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and fully informed Levin-Epstein, a Palestine Jew of finest quality.

A fortunate moment was that which brought Justice Brandeis in Washington face to face with Mr. Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Lloyd George Cabinet, to whom fell the task of working out the problem of relations between Britain and the Jews with respect to Palestine. We were kept fairly well informed; and the President, after engaging the genuine interest of his former Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan, entrusted the matter to another thoroughly sympathetic friend, Colonel Edward M. House, who in England had discussed Palestine with representatives of the British Government, and acted upon the basis of the unlimited approval of his then friend and chief, President Wilson.

In the summer of 1917 there came to us, at first through Jewish sources, and only in the early fall through our governmental sources, several drafts of what has become historic as the Balfour Declaration. Because of his place on the Supreme Court, Justice Brandeis was under the necessity of moving with utmost circumspectness. But the writer has reason to know that when the last draft came from England the President submitted it to Justice Brandeis, and from their hands the document was passed over to Colonel House. The latter sent for me and Jacob de Haas, and I had the opportunity of the fullest discussion of it with the President's unofficial Secretary of State. He assented to every suggestion which we, in the spirit of Mr. Brandeis and in conformity with our own conscience, offered, including one which has become part of Jewish history, but not even now to be publicly discussed. In the meantime, American as well as English Zionists had come to know of the large and

decisive part played throughout the negotiations by Dr. Weizmann and the services he, as a scientist, was privileged to render to the British Government, a service destined to count heavily at a critical hour in favour of his people's hopes.

There was nothing left to do but breathlessly await the news with respect to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, nothing excepting, as far as necessary, to counteract those anti-Zionists, who were beginning to move frankly or furtively against the rumoured approval by the President of a 'Jewish Palestine.' The writer remembers, in a moment of grave anxiety, to have asked President Wilson: 'What will you do if a protest reach you signed by many of the outstanding American Jews?' President Wilson made no verbal answer. He merely pointed to his waste-basket, and said grimly: 'Don't you think that waste-basket is large enough to contain a protest of any Jew who may be opposed to a Jewish Palestine?'

At last the day of joyous tidings came with its publication of the Balfour Declaration, addressed to the late Lord (Walter) Rothschild by its world-famed author. Needless to tell how American Jewry felt about the great tidings, which included the first recognition of the Jews as a people by a great Government. The anti-Zionists were deeply disturbed; and they who at first fumed and fretted were later to take action far from honouring to themselves as members of the Jewish fellowship. I am glad to be able to record that the American Jewish Committee for the first time, under the leadership of Louis Marshall, adopted a resolution which was an act of unqualified assent to the terms and implications of the Declaration from the American point of view. At once a bitter debate arose on the rather irrelevant question whether the Balfour Declaration was an act on the part of the British Government in accord with its historic attitude of sympathy with the people of the Hebrew Bible and its historic claim to Palestine, or whether the document was framed as an attempt to bribe Jews the world over to give their support to the allied cause.

Within a few days of the issuance of the Declaration, New York Jewry, then little more than half as numerous as it is to-day, witnessed for the first time a parade, not of protest, but of rejoicing over what American Jews, especially the several millions of later immigration, rightly felt to be a document of the first importance. With Tsarist Russia broken, and in the hope of a new Russian order of life, American Jewry, save for a handful of the still irreconcilables, united in grateful rejoicing over the Declaration, of which the writer, not without overmuch hope, said at a Carnegie Hall celebration: 'This Declaration will be kept in the spirit and in the letter, for it is written in the language of truth, the English tongue.' It is not easy to assess the contribution of America to the processes from which evolved the Balfour Declaration. Thrice happily for us, our leader of state was a great democrat who clearly understood the significance thereof, and who was in himself a devout well-wisher of the Jewish people. The writer recalls how at the White House, President Wilson, after discussing the whole Zionist problem, said to him with deepest emotion: 'To think that I, a son of the manse, should be privileged to help the Jewish people to regain for the future their home of a great and historic past, Palestine!'

It remains only to be told that in September 1918 it came to be felt by Zionist leadership that it was necessary to make clear to Americans, including chiefly Jewish anti-Zionists, that the Balfour Declaration had from the outset and throughout the period of its formulation enjoyed the full support of the American Government. To that end President Wilson addressed a letter to the writer, 31st August 1918, the text of which is here appended. Its importance lay in the proof that it gave of the Administration's full concurrence in the terms of the Balfour statement, and in the warmth of the President's reaction to the proposed founding of the Hebrew University. This was particularly calculated to evoke the enthusiastic support of the one-time university president in the White House.

It was after the appearance of this message that the anti-Zionist storm broke loose. Storm is perhaps too strong a term, for, in the light of the President's attitude, the storm proved to be little more than a passing cloud, and the ineffectiveness of the protest was ultimately demonstrated in several ways. First, at the formal session of the American Jewish Congress, December 1918, when a resolution calling upon England for a British protectorate over a Jewish Palestine — adopted just before General Smuts's pamphlet on mandated territories came to be known — was adopted with virtual unanimity. Not more than one or two delegates dissented.

The writer was in London at the time, on his way as the representative of American Zionists to the Paris Peace Conference. President Wilson had presented the writer to Mr. Balfour. It was his (my) privilege the following day at Whitehall to inform Mr. Balfour of the resolution adopted the previous day at Philadelphia by the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Balfour looked almost incredulous. 'Strange and honouring to my Government that millions of non-Britons, your people, should invite Britain to assume a protectorate over Jewish Palestine.' He made a further remark, with which the writer deems it well to close this American chapter respecting the Balfour Declaration: 'I think of Palestine, not as a home of the limited number of Jews now in Palestine, but as the future home of millions of your people who may ultimately wish to make their permanent home in Palestine.'

It should be added that the message of the President, herein published, was borne out by the action of the President and Secretary of State Lansing at a public session of the Peace Conference, at which Dr. Weizmann made his now historic statement (at which, too, a lamentable statement was made on behalf of French assimilationist Jews by a French representative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle). The message of the President and all that went before it had their effect upon the action of the American Congress, 4th May 1922, in the

ultimate adoption of the resolution with which the names of Senator Lodge and Congressman Fish are associated.

Returning to Mr. Balfour, it was a thrice-happy conjuncture—Weizmann's impact upon Balfour, Brandeis's influence upon President Wilson, who said of Justice Brandeis to me in Paris: 'I need Mr. Brandeis everywhere, but I must leave him somewhere,' and the meeting of the minds of Balfour, Lloyd George, and Wilson in relation to that great cause—out of which, plus matchless effort and devotion on the part of the pioneers, after a twenty-five-year interlude the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine is at long last to emerge.

APPENDIX

The White House,
Washington, D.C.,

31st August 1918.

MY DEAR RABBI WISE:

I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

Dr. Stephen Wise, Chairman, Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, New York.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND AFTER:

1917-31

By Felix Frankfurter

The following article appeared in 1931 in 'Foreign Affairs' (New York) under the title: 'The Palestine Situation Restated.'

In addition to the personality of the author, this article—which is reproduced here by his permission—is of exceptional importance from the point of view of Jewish-Arab relations, with which Mr. Justice Frankfurter was directly concerned, as well as having regard to his closely reasoned examination of the Passfield policy, put forward subsequent to the Arab riots in 1929, which ultimately led to the imposition of the policy of the Malcolm MacDonald White Paper of 1939.

Mr. Justice Frankfurter, who, before the Balfour Declaration and afterwards, took a leading part in the shaping of Zionist policy, particularly as one of the Zionist representatives of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, was, in 1931, Professor of Law at Harvard University, and is now a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

The genius of Mark Twain has recorded the common impression of travellers in Palestine sixty years ago:

Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes. Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies. Where Sodom and Gomorrah reared their domes and towers, that solemn sea now floods the plain, in whose bitter waters no living thing exists—over whose waveless surface the blistering air hangs motionless and dead—about whose borders nothing grows but weeds, and scattering tufts of cane, and that treacherous fruit that promises refreshment to parching lips, but turns to ashes at the touch. Nazareth is forlorn; about that ford of Jordan where the hosts of Israel entered the Promised Land with songs of rejoicing, one finds only a squalid camp of fantastic Bedouins of the desert; Jericho the accursed lies a moulderling ruin to-day, even as Joshua's miracle left it more than three thousand

years ago; Bethlehem and Bethany, in their poverty and their humiliation, have nothing about them now to remind one that they once knew the high honour of the Saviour's presence; the hallowed spot where the shepherds watched their flocks by night, and where the angels sang Peace on earth, good will to men, is untenanted by any living creature, and unblessed by any feature that is pleasant to the eye. Renowned Jerusalem itself, the stateliest name in history, has lost all its ancient grandeur, and is become a pauper village; the riches of Solomon are no longer there to compel the admiration of visiting Oriental queens; the wonderful temple which was the pride and the glory of Israel is gone, and the Ottoman crescent is lifted above the spot where, on that most memorable day in the annals of the world, they reared the Holy Cross. The noted Sea of Galilee, where Roman fleets once rode at anchor and the disciples of the Saviour sailed in their ships, was long ago deserted by the devotees of war and commerce, and its borders are a silent wilderness; Capernaum is a shapeless ruin; Magdala is the home of beggared Arabs; Bethsaida and Chorazin have vanished from the earth, and the 'desert' places round about them where thousands of men once listened to the Saviour's voice and ate the miraculous bread sleep in the hush of a solitude that is inhabited only by birds of prey and skulking foxes.¹

What would Mark Twain find in Palestine to-day? In eloquent language and with the full responsibility of his office, Prime Minister MacDonald bore this testimony on the floor of the House of Commons:

I happened to be in Palestine two years ago, and I went up and down the country. I must say that it is impossible for any one who saw what I saw to be too extravagant in tributes to the Jewish colonizers in Palestine. I saw what was bog being turned into cultivable land. I saw the historical and very barren sides of the mountain of Gilboa being planted with olive trees. I saw the morass at the foot of the mountain—a morass that runs along the valley down which the defeated army of Saul fled. It was bog. I found it being drained and recovered. One very amazing scene will convey to the House the extraordinary transformation that was going on. I was with a friend, a very well known dentist who had gone out to join this labour colony as his heart was in Palestine, and in this life there was no consideration

¹ Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (1869), pp. 607-8.

for him that was superior to the consideration that he would like to be one of those who restored the stones of Zion. I was shown into a little place, a sort of dilapidated cabin. There I found him busily engaged in conducting his professional operations in a case that demanded emergency treatment. He took off his white overall, having performed his work of mercy, and took me with him to the agricultural gang that was digging holes for the planting of olive groves. That was what was going on in Palestine. It was not only labour but spirit and generosity. University graduates were working alongside day labourers, their hands getting hardened with the stones that they were breaking in the making of those roads to which the right hon. gentleman referred. It was a wonderful sight.¹

The transformation of Mark Twain's Palestine to Ramsay MacDonald's is essentially the achievement of one decade. But during uninterrupted centuries the seeds of this accomplishment have been nurtured by the most tenacious hopes and traditions of the Jewish people. On a small scale, the seeds were actually planted nearly fifty years ago. And the outbreak of the war found flourishing Jewish colonies, especially those established through the loving generosity of Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

The intensive devotion to an ideal which in its myriad daily manifestations begot the Palestine pictured by Ramsay MacDonald is little realized by the reading public. Clashes and conflicts are the staple of the press, and it is not strange that, in general, the American public has a wholly distorted view of life in Palestine. There has been intermittent political friction, besides the recent massacre. Yet the organic life of a new civilization has been steadily unfolding in Palestine since 1920. There Jews are living and labouring with a joy and ardour felt by Jews probably in no other land. The Arab masses thrive better than in any of the Arab countries surrounding Palestine. And despite the stimulation of religious fanaticism and the blatancy of the doctrinaire, Jew and Arab

¹ Hans. Deb. (Commons), Vol. 245, No. 15, 116-17 (17th November 1930).

are collaborating in the thousand intimacies of their common life as builders of a new country.

But the extraordinary achievement now in progress in Palestine is entangled in legal and political controversy, and upon an adequate understanding of the issues will depend its ultimate solution. The elevation of lowly Arabs and a home for the Wandering Jew are at stake; the efficacy of the mandate system is involved; the peace of the world.

II

Limitations of space permit only a summary review of some of the fundamentals of the Palestine situation and preclude attention to those ramifications and details which make up its comprehensive discussion. It is idle to profess Olympic detachment about lively political issues. Indeed, even the gods of Olympus had allegiances and predilections. I speak not only as a Jew, but as one who believes in the wisdom of the policy embodied in the Palestine mandate for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. But I am also one of those who believe that the excesses of nationalism led to the World War, and who look to a full realization of the interdependence of nations as the key to world peace. It is also pertinent to avow a strong Anglophilism—confidence in the political sagacity of the British people, and in their capacity to adjust the past fabric of politics to its modern needs. It is in the perspective of this general outlook on international affairs that I try to see the problem of Palestine.

The Jewish people have, of course, a long historic connection with Palestine. Despite 2,000 years of exile, the memories of the country of the Book, cherished in poetry and prayer, have continued to live in the soul of the people of the Book. ‘May my right hand lose its cunning, if I forget thee, O Jerusalem,’ sings the psalmist through the ages. For centuries, Jews the

world over have prayed on Passover night: 'Next year in Jerusalem.' From the viewpoint of international law, the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine may afford a dubious prescriptive right. But it is an indispensable element in the psychological force behind Jewish longing for Palestine. And Zionism is essentially a psychological force—the passionate longing by Jews for a home of their own.

While many early attempts, founded on religious and Messianic hopes, were made by Jews to return to the ancestral land, the present national movement dates from the nineteenth century. Under enormous handicaps, the Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion) attempted small settlements in the early eighties. With the sympathetic and generous support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild they managed to survive. To the powerful and magnetic personality of Theodor Herzl,¹ the movement owes its great impetus. As in a flash, the Dreyfus affair revealed to Herzl, the Parisian Viennese, the spiritual implications of the racial homelessness of the Jews. He it was who, in 1897, founded the Zionist Organization, in order 'to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.' Herzl marks an epoch in Jewish history. A new spirit became alive in Jewry. Hebrew was revived as a living language and Jewish culture burgeoned. Not only for the orthodox and eastern Jew, but for the so-called emancipated western Jew, Palestine acquired a more vivid and immediate significance. To American Jews, like Louis D. Brandeis and Julian W. Mack, Palestine revealed the opportunity for Jewry to re-establish a fruitful, unaggressive national life on a sound social-economic basis. Not merely the oppression of the Jew in unenlightened countries, but his emancipation, intensified the needs and desire of the Jew, rooted as he is in history, for a homeland in his ancestral country where his traditions and culture might flourish in congenial soil.

This subtle, more impalpable, but perhaps more far-reaching

¹ See Jacob de Haas, *Theodor Herzl* (1927).

aspect of the Jewish return to Palestine especially caught the mind of Lord Balfour:

A great cultural effort within Palestine which came to an end many hundreds of years ago is going to be resumed in the ancient home of the people. It is not that I would suggest for a moment that Jewish culture in the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Turk, that during that long period Jewish culture had ceased. Far from it. It has been uninterrupted, but it has been scattered, it has not been the culture of the Jewish people living within the traditional limits of the country which they have rendered so famous. It was the separate effort of separate communities, separate individuals, separate men of science, separate theologians, separate philosophers, scattered over the habitable globe.¹

The world war of 1914-18 unexpectedly hastened the process of establishing a homeland. From the beginning, Jews looked to the realization of their national longing through international agreement as one of the consequences of the war. The championship of small nationalities by the Allied and Associated Powers and the mood of idealism which supported the war, admirably harmonized with Jewish effort to regain inner integrity for the Jews in the only land they could regard as their own. Great Britain's generous attitude towards Jews, and her long, active interest in the aims of Zionism, the sway that the Old Testament, and thereby Palestine, exercised over British imagination, the link that Palestine serves between East and West, all combined to make Great Britain the special sponsor of Jewish hopes. It is sheer untruth to suggest that Great Britain espoused the Jewish cause to enlist Jewish finance on the Allied side. The recently published diaries of Edwin S. Montagu again remind us that the only opposition within the British Government to the support of the Jewish cause came from its Jewish member. He was representative of the rich and powerful Jews who opposed Zionism, which was a movement of the common people.

¹ Earl Balfour, *Speeches on Zionism* (1928), pp. 76-7.

Barring the return of Belgian territory and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, no arrangement that came out of the war was more openly arrived at than the provisions for securing the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Publicly, not secretly, with the consent of the Allied Powers and of the President of the United States (subsequently approved by a unanimous Congress) and not by covert bargaining, Great Britain called the whole world to witness the following undertaking:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This famous Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917 was a response to the problems of world Jewry. It was not merely a pledge to the fraction of the Jewish people who would actually settle in Palestine, but to Jewish consciousness everywhere. It was to be a national home 'for the Jewish people,' to be made possible through the generous support of Jewry throughout the world. In a formal document, dated 3rd February 1919, the Zionist Organization submitted to the Peace Conference its programme for effectuating the Balfour Declaration. The Arab delegation at the Peace Conference was familiar with the specific Zionist proposals and through its chief, Emir Feisal, gave them formal approval:

Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. . . . We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and

there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other.¹

A mandate incorporating the Balfour Declaration and implementing it, was entrusted for execution to Great Britain, as mandatory, by the Allied Conference at San Remo on 25th April 1920. Since the mandate recognized Great Britain, not as conqueror but as an international trustee, the mandate required approval by the League. The Council of the League gave such approval on 24th June 1922; and by the Palestine Convention of 3rd December 1924, between the United States and Great Britain, the United States formally recognized the Palestine mandate.

III

The mandate explicitly recited the Balfour Declaration and charged the mandatory with putting it into effect. Thus was the Balfour Declaration made part of the law of nations, and thereby the establishment of a Jewish national home became an international obligation. Since non-Jews also dwelt in Palestine and Jews dwelt also in other lands, the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate, out of an abundance of caution, put into words what, in any event, would have been clearly implied. The duty to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home was not to affect the status of Jews in other lands, nor was it to prejudice 'the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' The presence of an existing Arab population of course made the establishment of a Jewish national home more difficult than if Palestine had been wholly empty. The difficulties of the undertaking were, however, fully canvassed before declaration was

¹ The full text of the Feisal letter was printed in the *New York Times*, 5th March 1919; for the entire correspondence between Emir Feisal and the author, see *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1930, p. 49.

made or mandate issued; the undertaking was assumed with full knowledge of its implications.

We are told of broken promises to the Arabs.¹ Whatever promises may have been made in regard to the great Arab provinces, Arab claim to the small and unique territory of Palestine rests apparently on a letter, dated 24th October 1915, from Sir Henry McMahon, then High Commissioner in Egypt, to the Sherif of Mecca, who became King Hussein of the Hejaz. Both Sir Henry and the British Government have formally declared that Palestine was excluded from an independent Arabia:

That letter is quoted as conveying the promise to the Sherif of Mecca to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories proposed by him. But this promise was given subject to a reservation made in the same letter which excluded from its scope among other territories the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus. This reservation has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering the vilayet of Beirut and the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge.²

¹ Of all the charges made against this country I must say that the charge that we have been unjust to the Arab race seems to me the strangest. It is through the expenditure largely of British blood, by the exercise of British skill and valour, by the conduct of British generals, by troops brought from all parts of the British Empire—it is by them in the main that the freeing of the Arab race from Turkish rule has been effected. And that we, after all the events of the war, should be held up as those who have done an injustice, that we, who have just established a king in Mesopotamia, who had before that established an Arab king in the Hejaz, and who have done more than has been done for centuries past to put the Arab race in the position to which they have attained—that we should be charged with being their enemies, with having taken a mean advantage of the course of international negotiations, seems to me not only most unjust to the policy of this country, but almost fantastic in its extravagance.'—Earl Balfour in the House of Lords on 21st June 1922. *Speeches on Zionism* (1928), pp. 57–8.

²Cmd. 1700 (1922) p. 20.

While the existing population is predominantly Arab, Palestine, it must be remembered, is not and never has been a distinctly Arab country. By the deepest associations it is a land sacred to Moslems, Christians, and Jews; in varying numbers, all three dwell therein. Jerusalem, even before the war, had a small majority of Jews. No wise friend of Arab aspirations would seek to charge the Arab with responsibility for composing the delicate religious and racial problems in Palestine, or to impose on Arab rule the intricate task of the inter-racial government in Palestine. Similarly, the requirements of Palestine exceed the allowable bounds of Jewish control. But authoritative Jewish demand is not for a Jewish State; it does not ask the right to govern others. Jews desire only the opportunity of national development within their ancestral land. What kind of polity will eventually emerge from the interplay of the two dominant cultures and races in Palestine, further complicated by Protestant and Catholic Christian influences, what such place a polity may assume in the British Commonwealth of Nations, or in a possible federation of eastern peoples, no man is shrewd enough to foresee. Wise statesmanship will abstain from dogmatic prophecy about the future and will not seek to imprison the future by doctrinaire formulas drawn from the past. In politics, as in nature, there are organisms, and in the daily experiences of life they work out their own particular forms and destiny.

But on one aspect of the post-war Palestine situation there can be no doubt: protection of the non-Jewish population assured by the Palestine Mandate was not intended to eviscerate the positive, creative obligation of the Balfour Declaration which the mandate wrote into international law. That obligation is defined with great particularity in the mandate, and all informed discussion regarding Palestine affairs must be anchored in its provisions. However dry the terms of the formal text may be, commentary without them becomes confused, distorted, or meaningless. These are the essential parts:

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. (Article 2.)

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home. (Article 4.)

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4 close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes. (Article 6.)

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services, and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services, and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and

any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration. (Article 11.)

But the critical reader may well ask, What is meant by 'Jewish national home'? A leading authority gives this answer: 'A national home connotes a territory in which a people, without receiving the rights of political sovereignty, has, nevertheless, a recognized legal position, and receives the opportunity of developing its moral, social, and intellectual ideals.'¹ The British Government itself, in its basic statement of Palestine policy in 1922, thus defined its conception of the national home:

When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish national home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish national home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.²

If words have meaning, if a purpose clearly expressed is not a sham, then the obligation of Great Britain under the Palestine Mandate is to exert her active endeavours towards the promotion of those economic, social, and cultural forces which, in their combined manifestations, constitute what we call a nation. A nation means people, and land on which to toil and live. A national home for the Jewish people in Pales-

¹ Norman Bentwich, Attorney-General of Palestine, 'The Mandate for Palestine,' in *The British Year Book of International Law* (1929), p. 139.

² Cmd. 1700 (1922), p. 19.

tine implies something wholly different from individual and isolated Jews living as they had lived or might live in Poland or Rumania. Land, the Jews may own in other countries; industries, they may acquire in other lands; but an integrated national life—a well-rounded civilized society—is the very essence of the Palestinian home.

IV

Supported by world Jewry, the Jews in Palestine have made notable progress in building their homeland. They have poured treasure into despoiled and neglected soil. They have drained pestilential swamps, and the conquest of malaria has served the Health Committee of the League of Nations as an object lesson for other countries. Hillsides once bleak have been reafforested and now sustain life. Sand dunes have been turned into a city and countryside sterile for centuries again blossoms with biblical glory. Above all, with love the Jews have reclaimed the land. They have introduced flourishing industries, harnessed the Jordan, and are about to bring forth vital substances from the Dead Sea. They have created a centre for higher learning, for science and the systematic quest of wisdom.¹ And all this has brought great benefit to the Arab masses, who thrive and multiply as do not their brethren in neighbouring Arab lands.

Reliable estimates place Jewish investment in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration (up to the year 1930) at \$50,000,000. While much of the capital thus imported into the country has been directly applied to Jewish settlement, necessarily it has widened markets for Arab products and vastly increased the resources tapped for taxation, which benefits

¹ ‘Arab scholars can be found working in the great library of the Hebrew University, while the study of the Arabic language and civilization forms one of the chief subjects of study at this University.’
—Albert Einstein, *About Zionism* (1930), p. 59.

the whole country. While the Jews (in 1930) constituted about one-sixth of the population, they contribute directly about one-third of the Palestine revenue. If indirect taxes, particularly for railway, post, and telegraph, were included, their burden of taxation would be about forty per cent of the whole, without taking into account the extensive health service of the Jews, which elsewhere is a charge on government, and inures to the benefit of Arab as well as Jew.

These items, however, hardly convey the enveloping significance of Jewish effort to Palestine. Despite the heavy share of taxation borne by the Jews, the expenditure of the revenues operates disproportionately in favour of the non-Jewish population. For example, the Government grant-in-aid to Jewish schools is based on the proportion of Jews in the adult population, which is only about eighteen per cent, while Jewish school-children are about forty per cent of the total school population. Although the Jewish health budget about equals governmental health expenditure, the Government contributes relatively little to the Jewish health service. On the other hand, Jewish medical work is an important ameliorative influence among Arabs. In places like Safed, where no hospital is maintained by non-Jewish bodies, or like Hebron and Tiberias, where such accommodation is inadequate, a large part of the Arab population receives treatment at Jewish hospitals. At Safed, twelve per cent of the patients admitted to Jewish hospitals were Arabs; and of the out-patients at Tiberias and Hebron, the Arabs were seventeen and seventy per cent respectively. The extensive draining of malarial swamps was Jewish work; their profound benefits are Palestinian. 'The Arab population,' reported the High Commissioner in 1925, 'has not been slow to appreciate the significance and benefits of such work.'

But there is a type of westerner who romanticizes the wretched degradation of the Holy Land as Mark Twain saw it. To the fleeting eyes of an occasional western traveller, the

squalor of the fellah appears as picturesqueness, and his spiritual enslavement looks like inner peace. There are those who resent the Jews coming into Palestine fundamentally because of the improvements which have followed in his wake. He represents the invasion of modern ideas into the ancient fabric of the Near East. There is undoubtedly the travail of readjustment which the most ancient civilizations are now undergoing. 'Such are the advances of civilization,' writes Sir Martin Conway. 'The momentum of the West thus carries it eastward. The keen, hustling, modern man will salute the change with joy. We who love the simple Oriental life in its beautiful setting may be pardoned if we regard with a sigh its pulverization beneath the wheels of progress. The change is inevitable. It is a mere accident that Jews should happen to be its agents.'¹ Doubtless the Jew could ease the process of adjustment by not upsetting too rudely ancient ways even of stagnation, by restraining from needless rhetoric and, without dampening the zeal which accomplishes the impossible, by curbing needless exuberance.

I do not wish to over-emphasize the improvement which Jewish endeavour has brought to the lot of the lowly Arab. In Palestine, 'the naked facts of village life' are substantially the same as Mr. H. N. Brailsford reports them for India—'the starvation and the usurious debts, the taxes, and the rent that goes to a landlord who performs no social function.'² These should be a daily concern of the Government of Palestine. And economic depression for the moment also touches Palestine; Jew and Arab alike suffer. But the enduring benefits of Jewish capital, enterprise, and devotion to the whole of Palestine are incontestable. Those who would lightly throttle

¹ Sir W. Martin Conway, *Palestine and Morocco* (1923), p. 262.

² H. N. Brailsford, 'Can Indians govern India?' *The New Republic*, 4th February 1931, p. 316. And see the important Report by C. F. Strickland of the Indian Civil Service on the Possibility of Introducing a System of Agricultural Co-operation in Palestine.

the development of the Jewish homeland in Palestine are playing with the future well-being of Palestinian Arab as well as Jew, if, indeed, not of the entire Near East.

All this needs to be said, for the beneficent Jewish achievements in Palestine have been neglected in the strife of tongues. They have even been much misrepresented in the exploitation of the susceptibility of the illiterate fellahs to religious fanaticism. ‘After a close study of all the elements of the problem to which M. van Rees had devoted considerable time,’ run the minutes of the extraordinary session of the Mandates Commission called to consider affairs in Palestine after the 1929 massacre, ‘he has not the least doubt that the responsibility for what had happened must lie with the religious and political leaders of the Arabs.’¹ The conclusion of Vice-chairman

¹ ‘This profound conviction,’ continue the minutes, ‘had caused M. van Rees to associate himself entirely with the remarkably well expressed account of the matter,’ by the well-known publicist, M. William Martin. ‘Everywhere the troubles occurred, the victims were tempted to believe that they were the work of agitators. To a large measure they were right in this view, for no massacres such as those which took place in Palestine in August would have been possible had they not been organized and supervised. It would, however, be imprudent to deduce from this that there was a divergence of view between the agitators and the crowd of fanatics that followed them, for the mass everywhere followed its leaders and, whatever may be thought of the Arab effendi in Palestine, it must be recognized that, in so far as the fellahs are concerned, they are regarded as the leaders. In everyday life it is quite possible that the relations of the Jewish and the Arab population may be of a cordial nature. It is impossible always to be fighting, and the Arabs as individuals are gentle in their manners. But you can be perfectly certain that the fellahs, accustomed as they have been for centuries to obey their feudal chiefs, can be set on to attack the Jewish population when their chiefs so decide. The Arab peasant is distinguished, not only in Palestine, but also in the other neighbouring countries, by the fact that he can always be induced to attack his true friends by his true enemies, who are the landowners. As a French official in Syria has pointed out: “If we wish to pursue a policy in favour of the fellahs, we can be quite certain in advance that we shall be received with bullets.” This

van Rees was subsequently confirmed in more euphemistic language by the Commission (including the distinguished British representative, Lord Lugard) to the Council of the League: 'The Mandates Commission, moreover, doubts whether the kindly judgment passed by the majority of the Commission of Inquiry¹ upon the attitude of the Arab leaders, both political and religious, was fully justified by the report of the inquiry.' These are not pleasant matters to rehearse. But it is important that the facts be known, if American opinion is to affect Near East policy, as undoubtedly it does.

Unfortunately, a deep source of the present difficulties in Palestine is the failure of the Palestine Administration to counteract mischievous misrepresentation and to educate the Arab masses to a true perception of the amelioration of the Arab's lot through Jewish enterprise.

The Palestine Administration has also been wanting in the fulfilment of the active obligations required by the mandate. In view of the high and disinterested competence of its members, the findings of the Mandates Commission upon this crucial issue constitute the most authoritative basis for judgment:

The Commission views with approval the mandatory Power's intention of keeping Jewish immigration proportionate to the country's capacity of economic absorption, as clearly intimated in the White Paper of 1922. The Commission is inclined to ask whether the obligation to encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land does not—as a measure for the preservation of social order and economic equilibrium—imply the adoption of a more active policy which would

observation is accurately true of the situation of the Jews in Palestine, whose presence will improve the lot of the Arab peasant by the reclaiming of the country and by raising wages. The Jews, however, run the risk of being handed over at any moment to public vengeance as enemies of the people' (p. 41).

¹ The so-called Shaw Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929, whose report (Cmd. 3530 of March 1930) had been forwarded by the mandatory for the consideration of the Mandates Commission.

develop the country's capacity to receive and absorb immigrants in larger numbers with no ill results.

Such a policy seems to have been no more than outlined in the form of encouragement and protection for embryo industries. It is quite clear, however, that the Jewish National Home, so far as it has been established, has in practice been the work of the Jewish organization.

The mandate seemed to offer other prospects to the Jews; it must be recognized that their charge against the Palestine Government, that it has not fulfilled, by actual deeds, the obligation to encourage the establishment of the National Home, has been notably reinforced by the fact that the Government has shown itself unable to provide the essential condition for the development of the Jewish National Home —security for persons and property. . . .

The Commission hopes that the necessity of continually acting as an umpire between the hostile factions will not prevent the Palestine Government from proceeding to carry out a constructive programme in the interests of the peaceful masses of the population more vigorously than hitherto. It entertains this hope not only because such action is necessary for the complete execution of the mandate, but also because it believes that there is no better means of bringing about a general pacification than to encourage and organize in every possible way effective co-operation between the various sections of the population.

Such an attitude on the part of the mandatory Power and all its agents would assuredly have given them better protection against the continual demands of the representatives of the two parties. It would have enabled them to convince the Arab fellahs more easily of the undeniable material advantages that Palestine has derived from the efforts of the Zionists. Moreover, by enhancing the moral authority of the mandatory Government as the natural protector of the holy places, it would have enabled them to dispel the apprehension felt by the Arabs on account of the intention which they attributed to the Jews to encroach upon the Burak. . . .

The policy of the Mandatory would not be fairly open to criticism unless it aimed at crystallizing of the Jewish National Home at its present stage of development, or rigidly stabilizing the public institutions of Palestine in their present form. Judged by the acts in which it daily finds expression and the results already achieved, that policy deserves no such reproach.¹

¹ Minutes of the Seventeenth (Extraordinary) Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission (1930) pp. 142, 143, 145.

V

The Permanent Mandates Commission Report was adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, and accepted on behalf of the mandatory. But in October, Lord Passfield, through his now famous White Paper,¹ undermined the high hopes for a new era of amity and constructive effort between Jew and Arab, which the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, had engendered by his statesmanlike speech in accepting the report of the Mandates Commission. Lord Passfield's new statement of the mandatory policy for Palestine not only stirred to its depths the most conservative Jewish feeling the world over. It jolted British public opinion regardless of party, and provoked the vigorous protest of leading British statesmen.

While the individual responsibility of British ministers is screened by the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility, it has not been denied that Lord Passfield's ill-conceived departure from past British policy did not have behind it the active mind of the Prime Minister and came as a surprise to Mr. Arthur Henderson, the minister especially charged with the empire's foreign relations, which are so deeply implicated by events in Palestine. The surviving members of the British War Cabinet responsible for the Balfour Declaration, Lloyd George and General Smuts, promptly disavowed Lord Passfield's conception of the mandate.² Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. L. S. Amery, the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, and Colonial Secretary in the last Conservative Government, found the Passfield statement in conflict 'not only with the insistence of the Council of the League of Nations that it would be contrary to the intention of the mandate if the Jewish national home were crystallized at its present stage of development, but with the whole spirit of the Balfour Declaration and of the statements made by successive

¹ Cmd. 3692 (1930).

² *The Times*, 25th October 1930; *The Times*, 27th October 1930.

Governments in the last twelve years.¹ Lord Passfield purported to follow the carefully matured statement of policy in the White Paper of 1922, but its author, Winston Churchill, repudiated the changed outlook and the whole temper of mind which underlay the White Paper of 1930. The leader of the British Bar, Sir John Simon, and the former Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, declared that the terms of the mandate contradicted its new rendering by Lord Passfield.²

By a strange dialectic and a still stranger disregard of the whole course of events, Lord Passfield has, I submit, employed the safeguards in the mandate for the protection of the non-Jewish communities of Palestine to read out of the mandate all substantial meaning from the mandatory's duty towards the establishment of a Jewish national home. I shall not attempt to improve upon the analysis of the whole matter made, with great lucidity, by Mr. Churchill, who speaks from his past responsibility for Palestine at the Colonial Office:

The two obligations are indeed of equal weight but they are different in character. The first obligation is positive and creative, the second obligation is safeguarding and conciliatory.

Our Mandatory obligations towards the Jews throughout the world who helped us, and towards Palestinian Arabs who were the conscript soldiers of our Turkish enemy, are both binding, and we are bound both to persevere in the establishment of the Jewish National Home and in safeguarding the civil and religious rights of Arabs. Merely to sit still and avoid friction with Arabs and safeguard their civil and religious rights and to abandon the positive exertion for the establishment of the Jewish National Home would not be a faithful interpretation of the Mandate.

Lord Passfield is not stating the case truly when he writes in the new

¹ *The Times*, 23rd October 1930.

² *The Times*, 4th November 1930. The Law Officers of the Government and the present Lord Chancellor have not, so far as I know, challenged the legal doubts of Lord Hailsham and Sir John. I am aware that Lord Passfield made reply to the Hailsham-Simon views (*The Times*, 6th November 1930), and I leave the learned reader to judge between them.

White Paper, 'It is clear from the wording of this article that the population of Palestine, and not any sectional interest, is to be the object of the Government's care.' The essence of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, and the intention of the Mandate in 1919, was that 'the sectional interest' of the Jews in the establishment of their National Home was to be the object of the Government's care, and in the words of the article, the Mandatory Power assumed responsibility for bringing about the political, administrative, and economic conditions which would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home. . . .

No one could claim that the British nation is bound for all time, irrespective of events or of their own physical and moral strength, to pursue the policy of establishment of the Jewish National Home. But from the moment that we recognize and proclaim that we have departed from these undertakings and are regarding the Zionist cause as a mere inconvenient incident in the Colonial Office administration of Palestine, we are bound to return our Mandate to the League of Nations and forgo the strategic moral and material advantages arising from the British control of, and association with, the Holy Land.¹

I would not have Lord Passfield abate one jot of his zeal for the fellah. If the Jewish homeland cannot be built without making the fellah's lot worse rather than better, it ought not to be built. The cardinal vice of the Passfield document is that it conveys, certainly to the innocent reader, the impression that the Jew's coming has been the Arab's woe. That is precisely the untruth by which a small body of economically powerful Arabs are exploiting the religious feeling of Arab masses whom they themselves oppress. In common with all students of social problems, I owe a deep debt to Sidney Webb for his contributions to history and social theory. But in a statesman, doctrinaire speculation unaccompanied by human insight is bound to go awry. It is not without irony that, despite his sincere concern for the Arab, Lord Passfield has unwittingly sponsored a policy against Arab well-being and Arab-Jewish concord.

Lord Passfield draws a picture of the impoverished fellah in Palestine with the plain inference, in view of the

¹ *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 3rd November 1930, pp. 2-4.

juxtaposition of Jewish settlement and Arab grievances, that the Jew has ousted the Arab cultivator from his land. From Lord Passfield's text—and it is a formal State paper—one hardly would suspect that every dunam of land now owned by the Jews has been handsomely paid for, and that the fellah's lot is certainly better than before the Jews came, and much better (because the Jews came) than that of his brothers in Trans-Jordania, from which the Jews have been excluded. Detailed proof of these facts is buried in official reports, little known and less read. But the general conclusion is attested by trained observers, like H. N. Brailsford, J. Ramsay MacDonald, and H. W. Nevinson, who are familiar with eastern peoples and sensitive to the lot of the underdog.

The White Paper speaks both of landless and displaced Arabs¹ without care in distinguishing between the two

¹ By interview, speech, and letter, Lord Passfield has added not a little exegesis to his White Paper. But until his White Paper is replaced or 'interpreted' by a document of equal formality one must deal with the text of the White Paper and not with private glosses upon it.

After the present article was in the press, the British Government issued a new statement of Palestine policy, published 14th February 1931. It is in the form of a letter by the Prime Minister to Dr. Weizmann, who had resigned as president of the Jewish Agency in protest against the White Paper of 1930. The letter has been laid before Parliament, is to guide the High Commissioner of Palestine, and will be communicated to the League of Nations.

The letter states that the White Paper 'recognizes that the undertaking of the Mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population of Palestine.' It expressly disavows any intention of the White Paper to make 'injurious allegations against the Jewish people and Jewish labour organizations.' 'It is recognized that the Jewish Agency have all along given willing co-operation in carrying out the policy of the Mandate, and that the constructive work done by the Jewish people in Palestine has had beneficial effects on the development and well-being of the country as a whole.' The Prime Minister admits that the safeguards of the provisions of Articles 2 and 6 'are not to be read as implying that existing economic conditions in Palestine should be crystallized. On the contrary, the obligation

classes. Among landless Arabs are apparently included agricultural workers and others occupied in connection with the land—a class found in every agricultural country, and even in the United States, on the increase. The White Paper does not take even ordinary care to indicate that the number of Arabs alleged to have been displaced by Jewish settlement is certainly relatively small, and that talk regarding the dispossession of Arab cultivators is based on unreliable data. The White Paper, strangely enough, derives policy from the prevalence of suspicion, sedulously cultivated, as every one knows, rather than

to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement in Jews on the land, remains a positive obligation of the Mandate and can be fulfilled without prejudice to the rights and position of other sections of the population of Palestine.' The letter denies that the White Paper was meant as 'a prohibition of acquisition of additional land by Jews.' 'The landless Arabs,' whose settlement upon the land 'His Majesty's Government feels itself under an obligation to facilitate,' are now defined as those who have been displaced from their lands in consequence of land purchases by Jews and who have not obtained other holdings or other occupation. The number of such 'displaced Arabs' is not indicated and is admitted to be 'a matter for careful inquiry.' The Government expresses its intention 'to institute an inquiry as soon as possible to ascertain, *inter alia*, what State and other lands are, or properly can be made, available for close settlement by Jews under reference to the obligation imposed upon the Mandatory by Article 6 of the Mandate.' 'The question of the congestion amongst the fellahin of the hill districts of Palestine is receiving the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government. It is contemplated that measures will be devised for the improvement and intensive development of the land, and for bringing into cultivation areas which hitherto may have remained uncultivated, and thereby securing to the fellahin a better standard of living, without, save in exceptional cases, having recourse to transfer.' 'In giving effect to the policy of land settlement as contemplated in Article 2 of the Mandate, it is necessary, if disorganization is to be avoided, and if the policy is to have a chance to succeed, that there should exist some centralized control of transactions relating to the acquisition and transfer of land during such interim periods as may reasonably be necessary to place the development schemes upon a sure foundation. The power

that meticulous study of social facts with which the name of the Webbs is so honourably associated. Dealing with one of the chief areas of Jewish colonization, Sir John Hope Simpson, Lord Passfield's own expert, reported:

'The Jewish authorities have nothing with which to reproach themselves in the matter of the Sursock lands. They paid high prices for the land, and, in addition, they paid to certain of the occupants of those lands a considerable amount of money which they were not legally bound to pay. It was not their business, but the business of the Government to see to it that the position of the Arabs was not adversely affected by the transaction.'¹

contemplated is regulative and not prohibitory, although it does involve a power to prevent transactions which are inconsistent with the tenor of the scheme. But the exercise of the power will be limited and in no respect arbitrary.' The Government denies that any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration is contemplated. 'The considerations relevant to the limits of absorptive capacity are purely economic considerations.' Consideration will be given to anticipated labour requirements for works which, 'being dependent upon Jewish or mainly Jewish capital, would not be or would not have been undertaken unless Jewish labour was available.' The Government 'do not in any way challenge the principle of preferential and, indeed, exclusive, employment of Jewish labour by Jewish organizations. . . .' But if, 'in consequence of this policy, Arab labour is displaced or existing unemployment becomes aggravated, that is a factor in the situation to which the Mandatory is bound to have regard.'

There are evident gaps and ambiguities in the MacDonald letter, particularly in regard to the opening of Trans-Jordania for settlement and the industrial aspect of Palestinian social economy. Also, the suggested centralized land control adumbrates an administrative power full of potential mischief. The letter does, however, remove much of the harm of the White Paper, in so far as words may counter words. There is ample room within its framework for creative effort by Jew and Arab, and for their collaboration with the Government. But the Passfield document was merely a flagrant symptom of certain aspects in the Palestine Administration and Colonial Office policy. Time alone will show whether the new gesture of goodwill will be translated into action.

¹ Palestine. Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development, by Sir John Hope Simpson, Cmd. 3686 (1930), pp. 51-2.

A fellah overburdened with debt, who, though he has left the land, has freed himself from debt and found work, is not necessarily prejudiced. A more scientific cultivation of the soil may, like the introduction of the machine, entail hardships which it is the duty of the Government to soften. Palestine inexorably is part of this modern world. No *cordon sanitaire* can protect her against the penetration of the forces behind western ideas and technology.

Lord Passfield apparently deems it a good ground for stopping immigration when unemployment prevails in Palestine, and 'widespread suspicion exists' that such unemployment is due to Jewish immigration, whether such suspicion be well founded or not, so long as it 'may be plausibly represented to be well founded.' But, in the gross, Jewish labour does not displace Arab labour. Jewish capital creates work for Jewish labour (and through economic entanglements inevitably also for Arab labour), and such Jewish capital flows into the country only as part of the movement to build up a Jewish national home. Lord Passfield indeed objects that the Jewish national home is to be built by Jewish labour. He apparently expects Jewish capital and enterprise to be moved by the desire to build up the land for non-Jews. The very conception of a national home, of an integrated national life, evaporates in the White Paper. Jewish capital is acceptable, but not Jewish labour; Jewish wealth, but not a Jewish life.

Such a conception of the Palestine Mandate, were it to prevail, would frustrate the specific means—the encouragement of Jewish immigration and the promotion of close settlement of Jews upon the land—by which the ultimate aim—the establishment of a Jewish homeland—is to be accomplished. Lord Passfield actually seeks to turn the law of the mandate against the Jewish Agency. He charges a violation of Article 6 because Jewish settlements are guided by the policy (however wisely applied in specific instances) of employing Jewish labour on Jewish enterprise in order to maintain their own civilized,

social standards. The undoubted effect of such a policy is to stimulate Arab demands upon Arab employers. Such adjustments take time, and the process naturally is not to the liking of the influential exploiters of Arab labour. But in their homeland Jews, with a conscious philosophy, seek to be toilers and builders, not *entrepreneurs* or the beneficiaries of those excesses of the capitalist system to which western countries are now giving heed. Speaking from wide knowledge, Mr. Amery, the former Colonial Secretary, defends the general economic policy upon which Jews in Palestine are proceeding:

Take another point, where the White Paper adds in a curious fashion to the criticisms of the Hope Simpson Report. The Hope Simpson Report criticizes the action of the Jewish Federation of Labour and the Jewish Land Agency in wishing to employ none but Jews on the land which they secure. It may well be that that policy is carried out too rigidly, but that there is justification for it no one will deny who has ever been in a country like South Africa, where you have two races living side by side with a differing original standard of living and of wages.

Unless you insist at the outset that the race with the higher standard of living shall be prepared to undertake every task from the humblest you soon get a tradition established under which one race becomes the hewers of wood and drawers of water and the other the capitalists and the skilled artisans. Surely, in the permanent interests of the Arab population, in trying to raise the Arab standard of wages, is it not a good thing that there should be established in Palestine, at any rate on that fraction of the total area which is represented in the dunams' purchase by the Zionist National Fund, an actual population of working Jews settling not only a standard of efficiency but also a reasonable standard of living? Unless this had taken place, do you think we should have had a Workmen's Compensation Act, as we have it in Palestine to-day? The presence of a Jewish working class is a very material element in lifting up the standard of the whole population, and yet all that the White Paper has to say about that is to go a long way beyond the Hope Simpson Report and to treat it as being contrary to the spirit of the Mandate, as something which is giving offence to a people, something which is inconsistent with the declared desire of the Jews to live with the Arabs in relations of friendship and mutual respect.¹

¹ Hans. Deb. (Commons), Vol. 245, No. 15, 112-13 (17th November 1930).

Lord Passfield has complained that this or that conclusion drawn from his text is unwarranted. If so, the fault lay in his text. An important State paper affecting the destiny of peoples should never have been drawn up *in camera*, without consultation with the interests most affected and with so little heed to the obvious import of its words. He wholly forgot what, according to John Morley, even Mr. Gladstone sometimes forgot, that 'in political action, construction is part of the act, nay, may even be its most important part.' The White Paper was essentially an un-British document because it was unfair; and unfairness is un-British. This, I venture to believe, explains the deep protest which the document aroused, from Jew and Briton alike.

VI

The White Paper purported to be based on Sir John Hope Simpson's Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development. I regret that space precludes a detailed examination of this document. Its descriptive analysis lends considerable support to the recommendations of the Permanent Mandates Commission that the mandatory take a more active part in the development of the country's resources and thereby enlarge its capacity to absorb new immigrants. Sir John leaves no doubt that in the past the best use has not been made of available State land. His rough estimates of the cultivable area in Palestine, based on a partial survey, are much smaller than those heretofore deemed authoritative, and one may regard them with considerable scepticism. Moreover, he omits entirely the Beersheba district, which heretofore has been estimated to contain 1,500,000 dunams of cultivable land, although he admits that, 'Given the possibility of irrigation, there is practically an inexhaustible supply of cultivable land in the Beersheba area.' There is no reason whatever to conclude that irrigation might not reclaim this district, for up to now

'there has been no organized attempt to ascertain whether there is or is not an artesian supply of water.'

He himself gives two striking instances of how faith and works can turn barrenness into fertility:

There is a small Jewish village called Motza, close to Jerusalem, where a farmer of the name of Broza has planted an orchard, on what seemed to be sterile and barren rock. The trees and the vines have flourished, and what was a wilderness without vegetation of any kind is now a fine orchard producing a large income for its proprietor. The result is the more praiseworthy in that the planter received no assistance from any Jewish or other sources, but created the property by his own exertions. Another instance of development on the same lines is the orchard planted by the Zionist Organization at Dilb (Kiryath Anavim). The land on which that orchard has been planted was similar to that of Motza. The trees were not irrigated but they have succeeded wonderfully.¹

But Sir John apparently does not allow the dynamic significances of such instances of human resourcefulness to enter into his calculations of land available for cultivation. His estimates of 'a lot viable' are based too largely on existing methods of cultivation, although he admits that with increased capital and irrigation a much smaller holding would maintain a cultivator on a higher standard. Nor does he take adequate account of the fact that if the standards of a substantial part of the population are raised, livelihood for many others, not on the land but in occupations complementary to agriculture, would be opened up. Moreover, the availability for settlement in Trans-Jordania, with its large areas of fertile lands so sparsely populated and the thin stream of the Jordan only formally separating it from Palestine, was deemed by Sir John outside his terms of reference. And yet Trans-Jordania is probably the key to the problem of land congestion in Palestine. Certainly, hill Arabs can as readily be settled there as on the plains.

While the Simpson Report recognizes the benefits that Jewish

¹ Palestine. Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development, by Sir John Hope Simpson. Cmnd. 3686, 1931, p. 73.

capital and enterprise have brought to Palestine, its author's concern with the unique phases of the Palestine situation has been too short and too recent to have enabled him adequately to realize the prime importance of Jewish labour to the development of integrated Jewish life in Palestine. In his desire, which I hope we all share, to see the lot of the fellahs improved, he takes too static a view of Palestinian economic development. He tends, I fear, to think that by holding the Jew back the Arab can be helped. A much more reasoned view of the matter is set forth by Dr. Elwood Mead, one of our leading agricultural scientists, the Director of the United States Reclamation Services:

My knowledge of Palestine is based on visits in 1923 and 1927. I went to study and report on Jewish settlement. In order to do this I talked with Jews and Arabs in their fields and in their homes. I learned how they lived, what crops they grew, what tools they used, and the income which came from their labours.

The Jewish colonies and the Jewish settlements represented the twentieth century. They had comfortable homes, good schools, they used modern tools and many of them grew crops which represented an acre value of ten times what was possible under the methods of the fellahs. Surrounding these cases, which represented sanitation, comfort, and progress, were the Arab farms, which, with their mud huts, with dirt floors and primitive methods of cultivation and harvesting, were a counterpart of the life of two thousand years ago. There had been no progress. On the contrary, the life they lived for centuries before the English Mandate, with its uncertain taxation, its lack of encouragement, its awful poverty, gave no hope of change for the better if development depended upon the initiative and the expenditure of the Arabs. Instead of trying to drain the malarial swamps along the Mediterranean coastal plain, or in the Valley of Esdraelon, they abandoned the land and moved their homes on the hills. These unused and unpeopled pestilential areas were the opportunity of the Jew. He risked life and health to reclaim them through drainage. Now they are dotted with orange groves, market gardens, and alfalfa fields. Some of these colonies, especially the irrigated ones, have already the beauties of ancient Palestine described by the Prophets. I saw the stone columns which had supported irrigation headgates built by the Romans lifted out of the mud where they had rested for a

thousand years. I saw the unhealthy swamps created by the waters of Ein Harod drained by the Jewish colonists.

The Jewish settlements along the valley of the Kishon River have been created largely through the reclamation of waste places. Doing this has brought better health and better opportunities for the Arabs who live on the surrounding hills. The orange groves and the market gardens in the Jewish colonies south of the Sea of Galilee have not only shown the wonderful possibilities of the Jordan Valley for attractive homes with valuable and varied fruits and vegetables, but this has been done with scarcely any displacement of the grain-growing Arab farmers or shepherds.

These achievements of the Jewish colonists deserve the grateful recognition of the world. They have been wrought under hard and discouraging conditions. Instead of being an injury to the Arab, in many ways he has been an immense gainer. He has a new conception of what he can do. He has had higher wages for his labour and is no longer content with a crooked stick for a plough. The electric lights which have displaced the oil wicks in the Arab homes of Jaffa and Haifa have been provided by the money and enterprise of the Jews. The modern flour mill at Haifa had its incentive in the needs of the Jewish farmers, but it serves the Arab wheat growers on equal terms. In a hundred ways Jewish settlement has brought modern civilization into all parts of Palestine, transformed poverty-stricken areas into places of opulent vegetation, and multiplied manifold the wealth and opportunities of the country.

This has not been accomplished as a business enterprise or for profit. It has come because, out of their love for this land, the wealth of the Jews has been poured out in a constant stream, without any regard as to whether or not there was a direct return.

Now it is proposed to put an embargo on Jewish activity. It must wait until Arab development can catch up. Nothing could be more erroneous than to believe that shackling the Jew will stimulate the Arab. He needs help, but the first step towards help is money, and in an amount similar to that which the Jews have provided. Where is that money to come from? The English Government will not provide it, and the Arab cannot enlist either money or the consecration which has enabled the Jews to overcome the great obstacles they have surmounted.

This action of the British Government, if not modified by the enlightened opinion of the world, will not alone bring distress to the unfinished Jewish colonies, and to the partly completed development which is to be found in the Jordan and Kishon valleys and along the

coastal plain of the Mediterranean, but it means that Arabic development as well as Jewish will cease and the suffering of the fellahs from the poverty of their life and hard economic conditions will be made more severe. It is my belief that if the attitude of the British Government remains unchanged, within two years the Arabs will join with the Jews in asking for the removal of these restrictions.¹

I cannot here consider in detail a development scheme adumbrated in the Hope Simpson Report. One hesitates to dissent from a plan which is intended to increase the absorptive capacity of the country and to improve the lot of the fellahs. Suffice it to say, with the necessary dogmatism of summary comment, that Sir John's proposals, however laudable in their intent, seem to disregard the essential economic and psychological factors that control the Palestine situation. He recognizes the need of reducing the heavy burdens of taxation, but his own scheme would tend to aggravate those burdens and to thwart the enterprise upon which the country's development must depend. It is greatly to be feared that the plan has not sufficiently matured and was not rigidly tested by the unique Palestinian factors. In result, though not in intent, the scheme would defeat the aim of a Jewish national home, and, because of its economic unfeasibility and the hostility that it would arouse among the Arabs themselves, would fail in its central motive, namely, to help the lot of the fellahs.²

¹ *The New Palestine*, 7th November 1930, p. 137.

² In the *Political Quarterly* for January–March 1931, Mr. G. T. Garratt subjects the Simpson development scheme to an acute analysis. It is, he says in effect, an Asiatic policy, and 'An Asiatic Palestine managed on these lines must inevitably go bankrupt. The Arabs settled on the land with just enough capital "to provide a good cow, an iron plough, and a harrow," will be no wealthier than Indian ryots, but they will have to pay for a cadre of British officials and an administration which would be almost sufficient for an Indian Province with a population and an area about thirty to forty times as large. At present the Jews pay about forty per cent of the revenue, but they cannot go on doing this when there is no new money coming in from abroad, and a definitely Asiatic policy will soon kill the enthusiasm of

Coming to Palestine during a period of intensified world-wide depression, Sir John not unnaturally was over-cautious as to the possibilities of the country. As against the constricted outlook of the Simpson Report, let me put the considered judgment expressed in the House of Commons by Sir Herbert Samuel, whose temper of mind is as sober as Sir John's, but who speaks from his intimate experience as High Commissioner of Palestine for more than five years:

Does the presence of this indigenous population of 600,000, as it was then, mean that there is no room for and no possibility of a Jewish national home? I am convinced that with proper agricultural and industrial development Palestine could, in the very near future, support a population of 2,000,000, and there is no reason to doubt that in a generation or so it would support a population of possibly 3,000,000.¹

VII

Prime Minister MacDonald has given emphatic assurances that the White Paper was not intended to carry the meaning which its language and temper conveyed, and he has set up a

the Zionist movement outside Palestine. . . . Palestine would be a definitely Asiatic country, based on land which is intrinsically poor, and having no economic advantages except a comparatively small tourist traffic, the Dead Sea salts, and a belt of citrus-growing land which requires an uneconomic amount of capital to bring it under cultivation. . . . The landlords, unless they are overpaid for their land, will dislike the operations of the Development Commission. The business men will not find themselves any better off and will lose some of the indirect benefits of Zionist activities. The Jews will consider they have been deserted and betrayed. The Arab "fellah" will, if Lord Cromer's Egyptian experience is to be believed, neither understand nor show the least gratitude for such blessings as we may have bestowed upon him' (pp. 54-6). See A. Granovsky, *Land and the Jewish Reconstruction in Palestine*. Jerusalem: 'Palestine and Near East' Publications, 1931.

¹ Hans. Deb. (Commons), Vol. 245, No. 15, 121-2 (17th November 1930).

old-established countries, gave extremists the opportunity to arouse tenacious religious fears among their simple folk by mendacious tales of Jewish attacks on defenceless Arabs and the invasion of their holy mosque. However unpleasant the resultant state of feeling, a wise mandatory policy, executed by a firm and imaginative administration, would, in due time, have mobilized the many influences that make for common life between Jew and Arab.

After the 1929 massacres, Lord Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, and General Smuts, as surviving members of the War Cabinet of 1917, wrote: 'Our pledge is unequivocal, but, in order to fulfil it in the letter and in the spirit, a considerable readjustment of the administrative machine may be desirable.'¹ The same thought was tactfully conveyed by the Permanent Mandates Commission: 'It is, of course, not proved that a more active policy on the part of the mandatory power, and a firmer and more constant and unanimous determination on the part of all its representatives in Palestine to carry out the mandate in all its provisions, could have eliminated the racial antagonism from which the country suffers. In the view of the Mandates Commission, however, it seems at least probable that the force of that antagonism would have been diminished.'²

The unhappy massacres have left as their aftermath a continuous battle of words. Sober work and constructive effort will dispel this atmosphere of strife. In fairness to itself and to the trust which it is discharging on behalf of the League of Nations, the British Government must have in Palestine an administration in full sympathy with the mandate. To-day, one is compelled to say, such an administration is lacking. The mandatory cannot work through unwilling instruments.

There is no easy road, no magic formula for the achievement of that co-operation upon which depend the peace of Palestine

¹ *The Times*, 20th December 1929.

² Minutes of the Seventeenth (Extraordinary) Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission (1930), p. 143.

and its more shining significance for all the world. The quiescence of agitation, the better education of all classes, increased social and economic contacts, and emphasis on the common interests of all sections of the population will resolve present difficulties. Into the whole texture of Palestine life there must enter unflagging realization that Arab cannot dominate Jew, nor Jew Arab, and that only in a fellowship of reciprocal rights and reciprocal duties can be realized the distinctive values to civilization of Jew and Arab. When the mandatory—and, more particularly, its administration in Palestine—abandons the negative role of umpire and assumes the creative tasks of the mandate, its problems will be immeasurably simplified. The two obligations it has undertaken—securing the establishment of a Jewish national home, and safeguarding the rights of the non-Jewish communities—will be revealed, not only as reconcilable, but in essence complementary. The fulfilment of these international obligations will then rank among the fairest achievements of the British Crown, and the nations of the world will bless the name of Britain.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION: THE LAST DECADE

By 'Historicus'

THE last decade has certainly been the most momentous period in the history of the Jewish National Home since its establishment was heralded in the Balfour Declaration. Its beginning may be conveniently dated from the letter that was addressed on 13th February 1931 by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, to Dr. Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The purpose of that letter was to make good the damage done by the Passfield White Paper of 1930, which was an outcome of the Arab riots of 1929. The Shaw Commission that investigated the disorders recommended that the whole land question should be authoritatively investigated, since they found that displacement of Arabs from the land was one of the contributory causes, and that a new definition of British policy should be issued. Sir John Hope Simpson, who carried out the investigation, presented a disappointing report, as it gave a much lower estimate of the cultivable area of the country than had previously been accepted and implied that Jewish colonization had resulted in the displacement of a large number of Arab peasants. This report was accompanied by the Passfield White Paper, which foreshadowed fresh restrictions in regard to immigration, threatened the Jews with an embargo on further purchases of land, and commented upon their work in disparaging terms. The White Paper aroused such a world-wide storm of indignation that the Government set up a committee of Cabinet ministers to discuss the situation with representatives of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, and the outcome of these discussions was the Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann.

* This letter, while not a repudiation of the White Paper,

explained away and negated its objectionable passages, and was couched throughout in a friendly tone. It dealt with questions of the interpretation of the mandate and laid down the fundamental principles of the Government's policy in regard to land purchase and Jewish immigration. It stated that a careful inquiry would be made into the number of alleged 'displaced Arabs,'¹ that a comprehensive inquiry would also be made to ascertain 'what state and other lands are, or properly can be made available for close settlement by Jews,' and that it was the Government's 'definite intention to initiate an active policy of development, which it is believed will result in substantial and lasting benefit to both Jews and Arabs.' The importance of this letter is indicated by the fact that it was printed in the Parliamentary Report, embodied in official instructions to the High Commissioner, and communicated to the League of Nations.

In order to give effect to the policy outlined in this letter, Mr. Lewis French, who was appointed Director of Development, was instructed to prepare a register of 'displaced Arabs' and draw up a scheme for their resettlement, to investigate the methods necessary for carrying out the Government's proposed policy of land settlement, and also to inquire into the question of providing credits for Arab cultivators and Jewish settlers and proposals for draining and irrigating land. When Mr. French's reports were published (14th July 1933), the Jewish Agency criticized them in a memorandum, in which it declared that it could not see in them the outline of the scheme contemplated in the Prime Minister's letter, and that 'these Reports cannot be accepted as a basis for land and development policy in Palestine, in the execution of which the Jewish Agency would find itself in a position to co-operate.' One satisfactory

¹ This term was officially defined as 'such Arabs as can be shown to have been displaced from lands which they occupied in consequence of the land passing into Jewish hands, and who have not obtained other holdings on which they can establish themselves, or other equally satisfactory occupation.'

outcome, however, of the inquiry was to establish the fact that over a period of twelve years there were only 664 'displaced Arabs.' The Government thereupon made provision for those 'displaced Arabs' who wished to have land to cultivate.

While the various commissions of inquiry were pursuing their labours, Palestine was experiencing a period of economic progress unprecedented in its history. This was practically due entirely to the labour, capital, and enterprise systematically applied by the Jewish settlers; and the resulting benefits were not restricted to the Jews, but also enriched the Government and the Arabs. Many thousands of Arabs from Syria and Trans-Jordan, especially the Hauran, also benefited, as they were attracted to Palestine by the better labour conditions. At the end of December 1935, the High Commissioner, thinking the moment opportune, announced proposals for the establishment of a Legislative Council. A project for such a council had been proposed in 1922, but was rejected by the Arab leaders and consequently dropped. The new scheme provided for a body consisting of twenty-eight members, twelve elected (nine Arabs and three Jews), eleven nominated (five Arabs, four Jews, and two representatives of the commercial world), and five officials, meeting under an impartial president previously connected with Palestine. Subject to conformity with the articles of the mandate, and to the statutory authority of the High Commissioner, the council was to have the right to debate on all bills introduced by the Government, and also to introduce bills itself with the consent of the High Commissioner. The Jewish leaders rejected the proposals, mainly on the ground that the Jews would thereby be relegated to minority status in the land of the Jewish National Home, and that the development of their national home would inevitably be obstructed by a council the majority of whose members openly rejected the mandate.

The Arab parties, of which there were five, disagreed on the

proposals for the Legislative Council, whereupon their leaders were invited by the Colonial Secretary to send a deputation to London to discuss the matter. But before an agreement could be reached on the composition of the deputation, there began in Jaffa, on 19th April 1936 (one day after the visit to that city of the Mufti of Jerusalem), an organized attack by Arabs upon Jews, which spread to all parts of the country and quickly developed into a revolt against the Government. The 'Higher Arab Committee,' consisting of leaders of the various parties, proclaimed a general strike throughout the country and formulated their main demands: (*a*) the stoppage of Jewish immigration; (*b*) the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews; and (*c*) the creation of 'a national representative government.' These demands were rejected by the Mandatory Government, and the campaign of violence and terrorism became so extensive and destructive that military reinforcements, not only from Egypt and Malta, but also from Great Britain, were sent to Palestine, bringing the number of troops up to 20,000. Military measures, however, failed to suppress the revolt, as they were not applied with sufficient vigour. The Government, thereupon, in the autumn of 1936, sent out a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Earl Peel, for the purpose of investigating the causes of the disorders, and ascertaining whether the Arabs or the Jews had any legitimate grievances on account of the way in which the mandate was implemented, and also of making recommendations for the removal of any grievances that were deemed well founded and for the prevention of their recurrence.

The report of the Royal Commission, which appeared in July 1937, was marked by a sympathetic appreciation of Jewish aspirations and achievements. The commission found that most of the Arab grievances 'cannot be regarded as legitimate under the terms of the mandate,' pointed out that the Arabs had largely benefited by Jewish immigration, suggested increased expenditure on Arab education, and stated that

'self-governing institutions cannot be developed in the peculiar circumstances of Palestine under the mandate.' As regards the main Jewish grievances, the commission suggested that 'obstructions in the establishment of the national home owing to dilatory action in dealing with proposals demanding executive action' could be mitigated by departmental decentralization; recommended the careful selection and special training of British officers intended for service in Palestine; and deplored the subversive activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem. On the question of land, they recommended measures 'to provide land for close settlement by the Jews, and at the same time to safeguard the rights and position of the Arabs; and on the question of Jewish immigration, they proposed that this should be decided upon political, social, and psychological as well as economic considerations, and recommended the fixing of a political 'high level' at 12,000 a year for the next five years. After detailing these and other recommendations, the commission expressed the view that these would not remove the grievances nor prevent their recurrence, and that what was necessary was a 'surgical operation.' They therefore proposed a plan for the partition of Palestine into three parts, to consist of (1) a Jewish State, mainly in the plains, comprising the whole of Galilee, the whole of the Valley of Jezreel, the greater part of Beisan, and all the coastal plain from Ras-el-Nakura in the north to Beer-Tuvia in the south; (2) an Arab State, including Trans-Jordan, in the hills, with a port at Jaffa; and (3) a British mandated area including Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, with a corridor from Jerusalem to the coast, and an enclave near Akaba. Among other conditions proposed for the carrying out of this scheme, the Jewish State should pay a subvention to the Arab State, which should also receive a grant of £2,000,000 from the British Treasury; and arrangements would be necessary for the transfer of land and exchange of population between the two States.

The Zionist Congress of 1937 declared that the scheme of

partition was unacceptable, but empowered the Zionist Executive to ascertain the precise terms of the Mandatory Government for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State. The Mandates Commission was opposed to the immediate creation of two independent States, and the Council of the League reserved its opinion and its decision until it was able to deal with the question as a whole. The Arab reaction consisted of a resumption of the campaign of terrorism and assassination, whereupon the Government deported or imprisoned the Arab leaders and evicted from the office of president of the Supreme Moslem Council the Mufti of Jerusalem, who soon afterwards escaped to Beirut. Early in 1938 the Government sent out a special commission to Palestine to work out the details of partition, and when they presented their report in the following November it was to the effect that the scheme was impracticable.

The Government accepted the findings of the Partition Commission, and decided to attempt to promote an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews by convening a conference in London at St. James's Palace. The Jews were represented by the executive of the Jewish Agency, and other leading Jewish personalities, both Zionist and non-Zionist; the Palestinian Arab delegates were mainly followers of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, accompanied by representatives of Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, the Yemen, and Trans-Jordan; and the Government were represented by the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald), the Foreign Secretary (Lord Halifax), and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. R. A. Butler). The Arab delegates refused to meet the Jewish delegates, although the latter were willing to meet the others; and after a month of parallel conferences with Jews and Arabs the Government brought the fruitless talks to an end.

Since no agreement was arrived at, the Government published their own decisions in a White Paper on 17th May 1939. Its main provisions were: (1) that during the next five years Jewish immigration would be at a rate which would bring the

Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population, that this immigration should be limited to a total of 75,000 persons (including 25,000 refugees), and that after five years no further Jewish immigration would be permitted without the consent of the Arabs; (2) that the High Commissioner would have 'power to prohibit and regulate transfers of land'; and (3) that an independent Palestine State should be established within ten years in satisfactory treaty relations with the United Kingdom, which would involve the termination of the mandate. These provisions virtually conceded the main demands of the Arab leaders, but as they were not to be put into effect immediately they were rejected by the Arabs. They were rejected by the Jews too, because they constituted a flagrant breach of the Balfour Declaration and a violation of all the articles in the mandate relating to the national home. The White Paper was severely criticized in both Houses of Parliament by members of all parties and adopted in the Commons by a comparatively small majority. It was subsequently rejected by the Permanent Mandates Commission on the ground of its incompatibility with the mandate, and owing to the outbreak of war the report of the Mandates Commission was never considered by the Council of the League.

Despite the fact that the White Paper thus lacked any legal validity, the Government, nevertheless, proceeded to enforce its provisions. They reduced Jewish immigration drastically at a time when thousands of Jewish refugees sought asylum from Nazi oppression; and on 28th February 1940, they enacted new regulations regarding the sale and transfer of land. The whole country was divided into three zones, in one of which the sale of land by Arabs to Jews was prohibited, in the second it was restricted, while only in the third was it free. A comparison of the five per cent of the area of western Palestine in which the Jews are free to buy land with the extent of territory contemplated by the Balfour Declaration provides a true measure of the whittling down of that historic promise.

For, as the Royal Commission stated in their report, the area in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was originally understood to be 'the whole of historic Palestine,' which included Transjordan, and it was the definite intention of the Government to establish a Jewish State. The conception of a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan thus shrank into a 'Pale of Settlement' only one-sixtieth of the original area, and was displaced by the project of an Arab State to be established within ten years.

The MacDonald White Paper has proved a disaster to the Jewish people and to Palestine. It has deprived the Jewish victims of Nazi barbarity of their rightful asylum at a time when they are most in need of it. It has been responsible for such unnecessary tragedies as the sinking of the *Patria* off Haifa and the *Struma* off Istanbul, with the loss of hundreds of lives; for the deportation of 1,600 Jewish refugees to Mauritius; and for the internment of hundreds of others at Atlit. It has deprived Palestine of tens of thousands of Jews who could have been admitted during the past three years, and would have constituted a very substantial addition to the military and economic forces at the disposal of the British Army. On the other hand, the White Paper, which was intended to appease the Arab terrorists, has failed to evoke any corresponding gesture on the part of the Arabs. It was adopted, under the growing shadow of war, because it was feared that the Arab leaders would side with the Axis Powers, who had supported and financed them, and it was considered expedient to deprive them of any pretext for discontent and disloyalty. The last three years have shown what response the Arabs have made. The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem is the active confederate of Hitler and Mussolini; not one of the Arab States that took part in the St. James's Palace conferences is fighting on the side of the United Nations; a pro-Axis military rising in Iraq had to be suppressed; and in Palestine itself the assistance given by the Arabs compares lamentably with that rendered by the Jews.

There are now about 29,000 Palestinian men and women in the British Army. Of these 21,000 are Jews (including about 2,200 Jewesses in the Auxiliary Territorial Service) and about 8,000 Arabs. As there are about 1,000,000 Arabs in Palestine and only 500,000 Jews, the racial proportions in the population are represented inversely in the army. The number of Jewish fighters could have been very much larger if the Government had accepted the offer of Dr. Weizmann to raise a Jewish force to fight under its own flag. The offer was accepted in September 1940, but a year later it was declined on the alleged ground of technical difficulties, such as lack of equipment, although it was generally understood that the principal reason was to keep the Arabs appeased. As a result of repeated demands for a Jewish force, His Majesty's Government announced, on 6th August 1942, their decision to create a Palestine Regiment, with separate Jewish and Arab battalions. The Jews in the Buffs Regiment have been incorporated in the Jewish battalions, and it is expected that another 10,000 Jews will be enlisted. So eager, indeed, were the Jews of Palestine, at the very outbreak of war, to serve, not only for the defence of their national home but in general support of the Allied cause, that they organized a registration of volunteers for national service in September 1939, which resulted in the enrolment of 136,000 persons (including 50,000 women) between the ages of eighteen and fifty; but the authorities availed themselves only tardily and scantily of this generous and unreserved offer.

During the first twelve months the Jews were accepted only for the service corps, and they have rendered very valuable service as motor transport drivers and mechanics, as stevedores and lightermen, and as builders of barracks and fortifications. They provide most of the ground personnel of the aerodromes in Palestine, their numbers in the R.A.F. amounting to over 1,500. From September 1940 they were allowed to join combatant units, and they have distinguished themselves on all the fronts in the Near and Middle East. They have done ser-

vice in Egypt, Libya, and Tripoli, in Abyssinia and Eritrea, in Greece and Syria. Their gallant conduct has evoked praise from all their commanding officers, but unfortunately they have received no credit in official announcements, which always use the geographical term 'Palestinian' without any indication as to whether Jews or Arabs are meant. There are, however, sufficient and authoritative sources of information concerning the valiant part they have played. General Wavell, who was in command of the campaign in Libya in 1940-1, said that 'they performed fine work, pre-eminently at Sidi Barrani, Sollum, Fort Capuzzo, and Tobruk.'

In Eritrea the Palestinian units covered the left flank of the advance to Keren, cutting off the Italians on a ridge to the left of the main attacking force, and their bravery and fighting spirit were very highly commended. Both Jews and Arabs became experts in guerrilla warfare, and some 300 of them (three-fifths Jews), thanks to their toughness and daring, were selected for dangerous service in Abyssinia. There they co-operated in so-called 'suicide squads,' penetrated and demolished enemy fortifications night after night, brought back valuable information, and took an important part in the operations that led to the Duke of Aosta's surrender. In Greece there were many Palestinian Jews with the R.A.F., the Royal Engineers, and the Pioneer Corps, whose bravery earned the praise of Air Marshal d'Albiac and also of General Wavell. Several hundreds were with the last 2,000 R.A.F. men to leave Greece after successfully covering the retreat in the final days of the evacuation, and many afterwards fought in Crete. But unfortunately 1,444 Palestinians were among the 10,000 British troops missing in Greece and Crete, and of that total 1,023 were Jews and the rest Arabs. In the opening of the campaign in Syria fifty young Jewish settlers, with an intimate knowledge of the district near its Palestinian frontier, were chosen to accompany the Australian vanguard, to whom they rendered valuable service as guides and behind the lines. The Palestinian

contingent helped the Allied forces in recapturing Kuneitra, the key position on the main road from Safed to Damascus. One Jewish group, which, under the command of a British officer, undertook a particularly daring task, was completely wiped out.¹

At sea also Palestinian Jews have rendered valuable services. The youths who were being trained by the various Jewish maritime institutions at Tel Aviv and Haifa were among the first to volunteer for service when motor-boat crews were raised for the R.A.F., and they are serving at R.A.F. marine stations all over the Middle East. A number of young Jewish skilled mechanics have joined the British Navy, and their skill, devotion, and diligence have evoked the highest praise from their commanding officers. When the steamship *El Fath* caught fire as a result of an enemy air attack near Famagusta on 21st August 1941, four Jewish maritime officers succeeded in saving the freighter, and their 'considerable presence of mind and courage' were cordially acknowledged by Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet.

It is not only in the fighting forces that the Jews of Palestine have rendered substantial assistance to the war effort: they have also furnished valuable co-operation in the economic, scientific, and technical fields. Large areas of new land, including twenty-five new agricultural settlements, have been brought under cultivation, so as to make an important contribution to the food requirements of the Imperial and Allied forces stationed in or based on Palestine. There are 2,000 factories of all kinds owned by Jews, a large number of which are engaged in the manufacture of war materials. The refugees have furnished a leading authority on optics and also several Bren-gun experts who were sent to India for the manufacture of munitions. The Hebrew University in Jerusalem has arranged special courses for the medical officers of the British and Australian forces, and supplied sera for the diagnosis of typhoid and other

¹ *The Times*, 4th March 1943.

diseases. The Meteorological Laboratory has furnished air data for weather reports covering the entire region between the Caucasus Mountains and Lower Egypt. The Jewish Technical Institute at Haifa has co-operated with the Royal Engineers in the testing of building materials and discovering local substitutes for materials that could no longer be imported; and its laboratories prepare and repair instruments and motors for the Army and Navy. The Daniel Sieff Research Institute is creating synthetic pharmaceutical products by utilizing local raw materials.

Such, in brief, are some of the services that the Jews of Palestine are rendering in the titanic struggle for the overthrow of Hitler and his allies. They are animated by a consciousness of the fact that upon the issue of this war depends the future of civilization, which also means the future of the Jewish people. They understand full well that no land on earth is so closely and vitally concerned with the destiny of Jewry as Eretz Israel, and they are, therefore, upborne by the hope that when peace at last returns to this war-ridden world they may be permitted to achieve their long-deferred aspirations.

II. THE RESPONSE

WORLD JEWRY'S REACTION

By J. Hodess

THE historian writing of the reaction of world Jewry to the epoch-making charter for Zionism—the Balfour Declaration—will paint a very gloomy picture of the position of the Jews in eastern Europe and Palestine in the years 1914–17. In Russia the Tsarist Government had determined to use the war as an occasion to exterminate the Jews. Rumours that the Jews were traitors were semi-officially circulated, and secret circulars were sent to governors and generals repeating all fabricated spy stories about Jews, thus giving them an official character. This resulted in orders by the Grand Duke Nicholas, the commander-in-chief, of Jewish mass expulsion; hundreds of thousands of Jews, old and young, women and children, in different parts of Russia near the war zones, had to leave their homes at a moment's notice, mostly in the dead of night, and under penalty of being hanged, had to tramp long distances, driven by police and soldiers like criminals, to remote areas, while innumerable innocent Jews were shot in cold blood without trial. The incredible cruelty had darkened Jewish minds everywhere. The more so because all endeavours of Jews in Allied countries to induce their respective Governments to intervene and stop the outrages had met with little success. The Russian steam-roller was too great a factor in the war situation, and the Allies hesitated to risk energetic pressure on the Tsarist Government. It was even difficult for Jews in the Allied countries to give publicity to the horrors that were being perpetrated in Russia.

Equally serious was the Jewish situation in Palestine. The gravest anxiety prevailed about the fate of the new Yishub,

which was threatened with extinction. As in Russia, Jews in Palestine were expelled from most districts, including Jerusalem and Jaffa, and were moved towards the far north, while many were imprisoned and held as hostages under the penalty of death. Added to the pitiful plight of these Jewish refugees was the danger of pestilence owing to typhus which was raging in Palestine at that time. All that had naturally cast a shadow on Jewry, particularly on Zionists, who had put in years of labour and sacrifices for the Yishub. The only ray of hope was America, which was on friendly terms with Turkey. But for the efforts of American Jewry, the young Yishub, on which so much of the political work in London was based, might have been destroyed.

It was against this grim and dark background that the great light of the Balfour Declaration burst on the Jewish horizon, illuminating every corner of Jewry. Before that event, it must be noted, there was another occurrence of world-wide importance deeply affecting the Jewish people. The Russian Revolution in the spring of 1917 was a landmark in history; it was an event particularly momentous to Jewry. About seven or eight million Jews—more than half of the Jewish nation—lived within the borders of Russia groaning under the yoke of Tsarism, a yoke tightened beyond endurance during the war. The revolution which liberated the Russian people had also broken the iron chains of Jewish serfdom. It promised the abolition of the Pale of Settlement and the lifting of the innumerable anti-Semitic laws and restrictions. It opened a new era for the largest and most compact Jewry in the Diaspora in Jewish history. By its numerical strength and structure, Russian Jewry held an unprecedented position in the history of the exile. It had evolved a national life, firmly rooted in Jewish traditions for centuries. Under restrictive legislation, checked in most spheres of life and totally suppressed in others, it had developed complete national forms of its own. By the fall of the walls of the choking ghettos through the Kerensky

revolution, Russian Jewry emerged from the state of enforced medievalism and, as it was confidently hoped, was about to exercise an incalculable influence on world Jewry. Its Jewish spirit and vitality had certainly destined it to play the leading role in Jewish life. But although the relief felt by world Jewry at the long-last liberation of Russian Jews, whose fate had been their constant care and preoccupation for many decades, was immeasurable, it did not, in the slightest degree, obscure the epoch-making significance of the Balfour Declaration. Russian Jewry itself, newly released from bondage, free as citizens in a great country for the first time, heralded Britain's charter to the Jews with boundless enthusiasm. The joy of Jewish national redemption transcended the tremendous gratification of having obtained full and equal rights as citizens of Russia. There was a good deal of speculation in Jewish quarters as to the effect of the Russian Revolution on Zionism. Assimilationist Jews in western Europe and in the United States, lacking the historic sense, who, like the assimilationists of the Left, had believed that Zionism depended mainly on external pressure, and that the Russian Revolution, having removed that pressure from the largest section of the Jewish people, would be a death blow to Jewish nationalism, were sadly disappointed. It was a great revelation to misguided sections of Jews, as it was to the world in general, that the bulk of Russian Jewry was as faithful to Zion in freedom as under oppressive persecution. Before the event in November, Russian Jewry lost no time in asserting its conviction and faith in the inalienable connection of the Jewish people with its ancient land. And after the Declaration, though in the honeymoon of freedom it had newly acquired, Russian Jewry was foremost in displaying boundless enthusiasm. Its Zionism was strengthened by the new freedom. Russian Jewry used its first rights as citizens in celebrating the historic miracle of Jewish political regeneration. The Russian Revolution, it argued, had swept away the shame of a tyrannical regime;

it established for the Jew equal human rights as a citizen; but it had not solved the Jewish national problem. The only solution to that problem was the return to Palestine; in the Balfour Declaration they saw the first step towards that solution, and they marked it by great festivities, by thanksgivings in synagogues, processions in the streets, and huge representative assemblies. 'No more happy tidings could reach Russian Jewry than this timely expression by the British Government of its attitude towards Palestine, and we cannot sufficiently express the importance which we attach thereto. We regard this noble act as a landmark in Jewish history.' This was part of the statement by the Central Zionist Committee in Russia, submitted to Sir Robert Buchanan, the British ambassador at Petrograd. The statement added that the combined strength and force of the Jews, dispersed all over the globe, will be united and will once more exhibit the spirit of old, showing the Jewish creative powers, once the right of the Jewish people to Palestine is recognized. That the Zionists voiced the feelings of Russian Jewry is clearly evidenced by the predominantly Zionist majority of the preliminary Jewish representative organization following the revolution. The Jewish Congress in Russia was to have taken place in January. The Congress Committee, which had decided that Hebrew and Yiddish shall be the national languages, had a decisive Zionist majority. Even more striking was the Zionist strength during the October elections for the Moscow Jewish Kehillah, in which women, too, had for the first time participated. No less than eighteen Zionists were returned, not including three Socialist Zionists and one Poale Zionist—more than three times the number of the second largest group, the Orthodox, which secured seven—while the People's Party and Bundists had five representatives each.

Palestine Jewry did not have an opportunity of venting its feelings of enthusiasm. They would probably have been slaughtered if they had ventured to express their emotions.

Military operations were still in progress, causing grave anxiety. Jerusalem was not captured by Allenby till many weeks later. The Yishub had to wait some time to give expression to the gladness felt at its own liberation, and at the heralding of the approach of the *Geulah*. The arrival of the Zionist Commission in 1918, symbolizing the beginning of the national reconstruction, was the occasion for public rejoicings, although the actual blowing of the shophar in Jerusalem to mark the significance of the great day in Jewish history did not take place till the San Remo decision ratifying the Declaration.

The reaction of American Jewry, not only of Zionists, was striking. The Declaration was hailed as the opening of a new epoch in Jewish history. Britain was applauded as the liberator of the Jewish nation. The Declaration had recognized Israel's national aspirations to re-establish itself in its ancient homeland. The Return to Zion would be a well-ordered, stately home-coming under the trusteeship of Great Britain. With few exceptions, all sections of Jewry in the United States; Orthodox, Reform, Labour, and other Jewish organizations that had formerly taken little interest in Zionism, adopted fervent resolutions identifying themselves with Zionist aspirations and expressing profound gratitude to Great Britain.

A flood of emotional joy, mingled with feelings of warm thankfulness to Great Britain, swept the House of Israel. It was voiced in every country in which Jews resided, and expressed in every language spoken by Jews, including the Jews in Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria. Though naturally restrained, German Zionists adopted a resolution expressing satisfaction at the Balfour Declaration. They were not in a position to manifest their thrill of joy as other Jewries did, but they and Austrina Jews fully shared their feelings. Britain had captured the heart of every Jewish community throughout the world. Its gesture had fired the imagination, not only of the large Jewish masses, but of individuals aloof from Jewish interests, as, for instance, of a man like Georg Brandes, who

stated at a meeting in Stockholm that the Balfour Declaration was one of the few bright spots in the war, and that the Jews would now begin a new national life in Palestine. Jewry felt, in the words of the Psalmist, like dreamers—dreamers who saw the dream of the Restoration come true, realized by the magnanimous act of Great Britain, a great empire who had become an ally of the lonely Jewish people.

Jewry was fully conscious that behind Britain's historic move to repair a wrong of centuries there were also motives of self-interest. It was a fateful period in the war situation; the military position was serious and anxieties were bordering almost on despair. The mobilization of world Jewry on the side of the Allies, especially of American Jewry, was, therefore, an important factor. But the fact that Britain's act was not exclusively altruistic and was actuated, in at least some degree, by self-interest, did not diminish the affection and gratitude of the Jewish people. It sealed the bond, so to say, between Jewry and the great British Empire. That the restoration of the Jews in Palestine was also of strategic importance to Britain was interpreted as evidence that she had become the instrument of Providence for Jewish redemption.

It would require a volume to reproduce a bare record of the rejoicings, demonstrations, processions, triumphant choruses of synagogal thanksgivings, blessings, and hymns of praise for Great Britain throughout the world. Even so, it would only convey the articulate expressions of Jewry's exultation. It would, however, hardly communicate the inward inarticulate emotions, or reproduce the profound religious and mystical moods the document had created in Jewry. An agonized, martyred people was aroused. In the words of the prophet, it awoke and put on strength; it shook itself from the dust; the captive loosed himself from the bands of bondage.

This state of mind in Jewry, it must be remembered, was encouraged and stimulated by British public opinion. Leaders of British thought in every domain, political leaders of all parties,

religious spokesmen of all creeds, and practically the whole of the British press stressed the significance of the Balfour Declaration, not only to the Jewish people, but to the whole world and particularly to Great Britain herself. These feelings, shared, of course, by the overwhelming majority of British Jewry, were spontaneous and sincere; there was no doubt about the genuine good faith of these sentiments, and no one would have dared to suggest that Britain would desecrate the religious and national feelings, the hopes and the faith she had aroused.

The psychological and political impact of the Balfour Declaration on Jewry became apparent as soon as there was a turning point in the war situation and British troops occupied Palestine. It released Jewish energy, increased its vitality, and produced a renaissance of Jewish life and letters. A regenerated Jewish people emerged from the great World War. And whatever the subsequent happenings, despite the numerous disappointments, or, as some might say, betrayals, notwithstanding the bitter disillusionment that came in later years, especially to those who were near or in the centre of things in those days, and had experienced the ecstasies the event had evoked—despite all, the Balfour Declaration marked the second half of Jewish history.

BRITISH JEWRY'S REACTION

By Janus Cohen

EVEN in the days before Herzl, British Jewry was already actively interested in the Jewish Resettlement in Palestine. Apart from the notable endeavours over a lengthy period of Sir Moses Montefiore for the promotion of Jewish colonization in the Holy Land, there were a small number of leading English Jews who were actively engaged at the end of the last and the beginning of this century in the efforts of the *Hoveve Zion*; and although the scope of their activities was limited, it undoubtedly prepared the way for the next generation. For the *Hoveve Zion* movement was nationalist in character, its first object being to 'foster the national idea in Israel,' and to 'diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language.'

The formation of the English Zionist Federation in 1899 marked a new era in the work for Palestine. The progress was at first rather slow, as the Anglo-Jewish community, as a whole, was lukewarm in its attitude. This did not, however, deter the indefatigable small band which then comprised the English Zionist Federation from pursuing with zeal the realization of their ideal. The organization thus created was to prove to be of invaluable importance in the historic days of 1917.

In May 1917 there appeared the well-remembered letter to *The Times* of the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, in which they declared themselves opposed to Zionist aspirations. When it is recalled that this opposition was headed by Mr. Claude Montefiore, an outstanding personality whose opinions might have carried great weight, and was inspired by Mr. Lucien Wolf, whose diplomatic status and encyclopaedic grasp of the Jewish Question made him a very formidable antagonist, it will be

realized how gigantic was the task which then confronted the Zionists. However, the result of the determined endeavours of the English Zionist Federation to bring the claims of their cause home to Jews and non-Jews alike evoked sympathies which materialized in active support on the part of those in high political authority.

As is well known, the anti-Zionist pronouncement in *The Times*, opposed by the English Zionist Federation, brought about an immediate and dramatic revolt. The London Lodge of the B'nai Brith, a non-Zionist body, took the lead in organizing the protest within the Board of Deputies which caused the subsequent communal upheaval. British Jewry emphatically rejected the views of the signatories of *The Times* letter. It is true, that there were some sporadic attempts by a handful of British Jews to oppose Zionist aspirations, but the results of their efforts can be described as negligible. The best indication that Zionist efforts bore ample fruit was to be found in the fundamental change of view since the Balfour Declaration towards the establishment of the Jewish National Home adopted by the Anglo-Jewish communal leaders, both collectively and individually. The United Synagogue in London, for instance, was an impervious stronghold of a purely Anglican Judaism to which the prayers regarding the rebuilding of Zion were regarded as an accidental survival due to the fact that the references to that aspiration happened to be in the liturgy; nevertheless, it was the council of this body which, in 1927, unanimously passed a resolution welcoming the creation of the United Synagogue Central Keren Hayesod Committee. It is, of course, not only in the Palestine effort that Zionism has revolutionized British Jewry. It is no exaggeration to say that in almost every Jewish religious, educational, and literary movement in London and the provinces it is the Zionists who have proved the leading protagonists of the Jewish Renaissance.

These endeavours have been strikingly manifested in the

financial support that has been forthcoming. In the last twenty-five years British Jewry has contributed very substantially to the financial requirements for the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home. In 1917 a Palestine Relief Fund was inaugurated at a special conference of the English Zionist Federation, which marked the beginnings of a flow of financial means for the rehabilitation of Palestine, and for the constructive and productive work since undertaken there by the Zionist Organization. A sum of £31,000 was collected by that fund in a very short time. This was followed soon afterwards by the institution of the Palestine Preparation Fund, which brought in the sum of £43,000. In 1918, a total of £120,000 was contributed in the United Kingdom to various other Zionist funds. Since the inception in 1921 of the Keren Hayesod, the Palestine Foundation Fund, the sum of £680,000 has been raised by British Zionists towards that fund. The sum of approximately £750,000 has since 1902 been collected for the Keren Kayemeth, the Jewish National Fund. The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) has collected through the Federation of Women Zionists a sum of over £100,000. Since the year 1933, British Zionists took a leading part in the collections of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, the Council for German Jewry, and the Central Council for Jewish Refugees. The total of the sums raised by these three funds in England amounted to £2,579,143. Considerable portions of the moneys of these two funds were allocated for the work in Palestine. Neither has British Jewry lost sight of the necessity for training as many young Jews and Jewesses as possible for settlement in Palestine, to enable them to play their part worthily in the Jewish National Home. With this object in view, a Jewish training farm was acquired in 1936 at Harrietsham, in Kent, where large numbers of the Jewish youth have been trained, both physically and psychologically, so that they may ultimately settle in Palestine as agricultural workers. The training carried on at the farm may be regarded

as one of the notable achievements of British Zionists in their endeavours for Palestine.

British Jewry has rendered through the Zionist Federation a particularly important service to the cause of Palestine in the political work which the Federation has intensively carried on during the course of its existence whenever the opportunity arose or occasion called for it. It was Theodor Herzl who prophetically foresaw the future relationship of England to Zionist aspirations; and, as events proved, Zionist politics came to be centred in London by the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent granting of the mandate to Great Britain. It was of the utmost consequence, therefore, from the internal Jewish point of view, as well as from the general aspect of affairs, that a strong and effective Zionist organization existed in England, and the Zionist Federation has, particularly during the last twenty-five years, taken the lead in the promotion of the political interests of the Jewish National Home in the land of the mandatory power of Palestine.

Another field of activity of the utmost importance in which the Zionist Federation has also expended much energy is that of Jewish culture and education. For it is readily admitted by those who are the keenest amongst the Zionists that neither political triumphs nor financial successes are to be accounted as the fundamental and abiding causes of the progress of Zionism, and the force of the Zionist appeal to the masses and the intellectuals alike. For the inner springs of all Zionist actions are to be found in the spiritual impulse which emanates from the Zionist ideal.

True to its innately Jewish character, Zionism, therefore, lays special stress on a knowledge and understanding of Judaism in its widest interpretation, and of Zionism as the golden thread that runs through Jewish history in all the ages.

Many are the names that spring to the mind of the tireless pioneers and workers in this country for the cause of Palestine. One can but single out a very few of the outstanding personal-

ties who have contributed so much to the success of the movement. Joseph Cowen, L. J. Greenberg, M. M. Shire, and the first Lord Melchett will be particularly remembered among those who have passed away. Amongst those who have been most active are the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, the Marks and Sieff families, Mr. Paul Goodman (the historian of the Zionist movement in this country), the Revs. J. K. Goldbloom and M. L. Perlzweig, and Mr. Barnett Janner. They have all striven for very many years with one single purpose in mind, namely, the furtherance of the Zionist cause, and the rehabilitation of the Jewish people in its own homeland.

As one centre of Jewry after another in stricken Europe has been overrun and overwhelmed by the Nazi hordes, the responsibility of British Jewry has become greater from day to day, for not only has it to carry out its own share of the task, but it has also to carry the burden which would have been allocated to those great Jewish centres which were formerly the reservoirs and power houses of the spiritual and material strength of Israel in Europe. But in assessing its sustained efforts, it may confidently be asserted that for the last quarter of a century, in spite of its comparatively small numbers, British Jewry has gone a long way in its endeavours to discharge the historic task which has fallen to it.

ZIONISM IN PARLIAMENT

By Barnett Janner

BACK-BENCHERS form the vast majority of the personnel of the Mother of Parliaments. In spite of the power wielded by the Government and its Cabinet, a power enforced by the discipline of party whips, there is an inherent sense of justice which enables the members in general to compel the Government, even if armed by a powerful majority in the House, to deviate from, or even to abandon completely, a plan projected by the Government. Were it not for this it is probable that a mortal blow would have been given to the proper implementation of the Balfour Declaration.

Serious crises have arisen from time to time affecting the destiny of the Yishub. It has been the lot of Palestine that often unsympathetic administrators have advised and Governments with extreme faith in the omniscience of such 'men on the spot' have either acted or decided to act on such advice.

The Parliamentary Palestine Committee (a body of M.P.s interested in Palestine), appreciating the serious effects which would ensue if certain projected steps were taken by the Government, has placed facts and arguments before members and the House and has sent deputations to Government departments.

The House, convinced by the force of facts presented with sincerity by such men as Lloyd George, Churchill, and officers and members of the Parliamentary Palestine Committee, has prevented fatal mistakes from being made from time to time.

John Buchan acted as chairman of the committee for some years until, as Lord Tweedsmuir, he was appointed Governor-General of Canada. He was succeeded in office by Josiah Wedgwood, P.C., D.S.O. (now Lord Wedgwood), the valiant and outspoken advocate for human rights. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Lord Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire), Victor

Cazalet, and other eminent figures have served as officers of the committee.

In 1934 and 1935 representatives of the committee visited Palestine. The first group consisted of Capt. W. Strickland, Major Proctor, Mr. Summersby, and myself; and the second of Sir Wilfrid Sugden, Sir Murdoch McKenzie Wood, Mr. Tom Williams, Mr. R. H. Morgan, and myself.

At various times other members have made personal visits to Palestine. With few exceptions they have returned with a great admiration for the work of the Yishub and of the numerous advantages it has produced for the non-Jewish as well as Jewish communities there.

The sympathetic attitude of the British Parliament to the Zionist point of view in the implementation of the Balfour Declaration stands out in contrast to the hostile attitude adopted by some of the officials in the Palestine administration.

In the course of his evidence before the O'Donnell Commission (1931), which had been appointed to consider economies in the administration of Palestine, Colonel F. H. Kisch, C.B.E., D.S.O. (at one time a member of the Zionist Executive) stated:

The Administration could not be expected to function effectively so long as the Head of the Government and a number of senior officials appeared to be definitely out of sympathy with the conception of the Jewish National Home as interpreted in the Mandate.

This opinion is confirmed by the following extract from the Palestine Royal Commission Report:

And if one thing stands out clear from the record of the Mandatory administration it is the leniency with which Arab political agitation, even when carried to the point of violence and murder, has been treated. . . . After each successive outbreak, punishment was sparing and clemency the rule: there was no real attempt at disarmament, nor any general repression: freedom of speech was not curtailed. On the Government's handling of the last outbreak it is not our duty to express opinions: the matter was implicitly ruled out from our terms of

reference; but we feel bound to say, and we think the Government itself would be the first to admit, that it carried its policy of conciliation to its farthest possible limit.

In his interesting book, *Middle East Window*, which appeared recently, Mr. Humphrey Bowman, who was an official of the Palestine Administration for sixteen years, writes:

It is true to say that the majority of British officials considered the policy underlying the Balfour Declaration an injustice, not because they were out of sympathy with the idea of a National Home for the Jewish people, but because they believed that it did not take into sufficient account the interests of the Arab population. . . . Further, as the years went by and as immigration increased, the British official, in his capacity as watchdog, began to share the Arab's fear of Jewish domination. If so many thousands of Jews came into the country, in so many years there would be a Jewish majority. . . .

The importance of the part played by Parliament in Palestinian affairs can be gauged from the following illustrations:

(1) The disorders of 1929, and in particular the pogroms at Hebron and Safed, had revealed the insecurity of the National Home. The Shaw Report (March 1930) warned the Government against 'excessive' immigration. The Hope Simpson Report (October 1930) foreshadowed a drastic restriction, if not a temporary cessation, of immigration for the purposes of settlement on the land. The White Paper of 1930 was thus the sequel to a series of setbacks to the Zionist cause. Dr. Weizmann declared:

It is inconsistent with the terms of the Mandate and in vital particulars marks the reversal of the policy hitherto followed by His Majesty's Government in regard to the Jewish National Home,

and he informed Lord Passfield, then Colonial Secretary, that he had resigned from the offices of president of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency. Dr. Weizmann's public protest aroused considerable feeling in British public opinion. It was the British House of Commons which raised its powerful voice in the defence of Jewish rights, resulting in

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's letter to Dr. Weizmann (February 1931) which restored friendly relations between the Zionist movement and the British Government. In the course of a remarkable debate initiated by Mr. Lloyd George, who was the Prime Minister of the Government which gave to the world the Balfour Declaration, speaker after speaker rose to condemn the White Paper, as contrary to the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. The Government was apologetic. After a debate, which took many hours, it was clear that the majority of the House of Commons demanded a change in the terms of the White Paper, and would not tolerate the undermining of Jewry's status in Palestine.

(2) The Palestine High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, informed the Arab leaders in December 1934 that, with the full agreement of the Secretary of State, he proposed to discuss the establishment of a legislative council with the various parties concerned: on 21st and 22nd December 1935 he submitted to the Arab and Jewish leaders successively a definite scheme for the constitution of a council. The Zionist Congress, which was held in Lucerne in August 1935, rejected the proposals as being a step contrary to the spirit of the mandate and as highly undesirable, at that stage, for the development of Palestine.

The fate of the legislative council was, however, determined on 26th February 1936, when it was discussed in the House of Lords, and on 24th March 1936 in the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, Lords Snell, Lytton, Lothian, Jessel, Elibank, Mansfield, Melchett, Marley, and Cecil urged that the scheme should either be abandoned or suspended while a special commission inquired into the question on the spot. Lord Plymouth, who spoke for the Government, was the only supporter of the scheme. In the House of Commons, twelve members asked for the suspension or drastic modification of the scheme; and Mr. J. H. Thomas, the then Colonial Secretary, whose speech was constantly interrupted, found only two

supporters. In view of Arab reactions to these debates, the opinion of the Royal Commission is of interest. It stated:

Re-reading the debates . . . in the light of our experience in Palestine, we have been impressed by the fairness of most of the speeches . . . in our considered judgment, if Parliament had accepted the Legislative Council scheme, it would not have satisfied the Arab nationalists for any length of time. . . .

(3) When the Partition proposal was put forward by the Government in July 1937, it had the overwhelming support of the press, but the House of Commons was not convinced. The House demanded a more cautious dealing with this complicated problem. The Government had to give way. A compromise was reached during the final stage of the debate, when it was decided that the Government might approach the League of Nations on the matter, it being understood that the House of Commons was not committed to the Partition scheme.

(4) The independent attitude of Parliament was demonstrated again during the two debates on the White Paper of 17th May 1939, before the outbreak of war, on 22nd–23rd May 1939, and 20th July 1939. Although the Chamberlain Government got its way, it was defeated morally. It received the smallest majority it had ever had in a division on an important problem; many of its own supporters went into the lobby against the Government. The result of the vote made a deep impression in all parts of the world, and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald had to be content with a Pyrrhic victory. Had it not been for the war, there is no doubt that the bankruptcy of the policy underlying this White Paper would soon have been evident to its most determined supporters.

During the last twenty-five years Parliament has been the guardian of the true spirit of the Balfour Declaration; and although its efforts have not always been crowned with success it has acted as a powerful factor in Palestine affairs.

ZIONISM IN BRITISH POLITICS

BETWEEN TWO WARS

By Dr. S. Levenberg

I

It would be difficult to find a document in British political history which has had more support from public opinion than the Balfour Declaration. Thirty-three privy councillors, more than two hundred members of Parliament, fourteen bishops of the Church of England, eight bishops of the Catholic Church, and the heads of some other religious denominations in the United Kingdom all expressed their concurrence in the policy of the Jewish national home. The Declaration of 2nd November 1917 was received with the most cordial and almost unanimous approval of the British press. Periodicals of all shades of opinion, whether daily, weekly, or monthly, hailed the decision of the British Cabinet as an act of great historic importance.

The Balfour Declaration represented the convinced policy of all parties in our country and also in America. . . . Men like Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner, Lord Robert Cecil, and myself were in whole-hearted sympathy with the Zionist ideal. The same thing applied to all the leaders of public opinion in our country and in the Dominions, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour.'—*The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, by David Lloyd George, vol. ii, pp. 119-22.

The Balfour Declaration was not in any sense a sectional document. It was approved by the representatives of the three great political parties in Great Britain. It ranks among those great acts of British statesmanship on which there has been full agreement between all shades of opinion, between the majority

in the House and those groups who happen to be outside the administration. Its terms have been confirmed by successive British Governments.

Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Milner, Lord Balfour, Mr. Churchill, Lord Baldwin, Lord Cecil, Leopold Amery, Lord Halifax, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and other prominent leaders of the Conservative Party have supported the policy of the Balfour Declaration. It was endorsed in the most cordial and enthusiastic terms by many of the Conservative members who entered the House of Commons when a great Conservative majority came to power after the general election at the end of 1918. The attitude of the Conservative Party was in direct line with the sympathy towards the Jewish return to Palestine displayed by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Beaconsfield.

Nor can there be any doubt about the attitude of the Liberal Party. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister from December 1916 to October 1922, has been throughout an enthusiastic supporter of the Jewish national home. The same is true of the other leading figures in the Liberal camp.

¹ It is not generally known that the Labour Party expressed its sympathy with Jewish national aspirations before the Balfour Declaration became a public policy generally accepted. In the draft 'War Aims Memorandum,' submitted to the affiliated organizations in August 1917, there was the following paragraph, which was later approved by the special conference of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress at Central Hall, Westminster, London, in December 1917, and subsequently adopted by the conference of the Socialist and Labour Parties of the Allied countries in February 1918.

'The British Labour Movement . . . expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which those of the Jewish people who desire to do so may return, and may

work out their salvation free from any interference by those of alien race and religion.'

All sections of the British Labour movement have approved the policy of the mandate. On the eve of the San Remo conference the executive of the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Labour Party, and the Trades Union Congress adopted resolutions to remind the British Government of the Declaration made on 2nd November 1917, 'a Declaration that was in harmony with the declared War Aims of the British Labour Movement, and which was cordially welcomed by all sections of the British people, and was reaffirmed by Earl Curzon on 2nd November 1919.'

The national Labour organizations urged upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of redeeming this pledge by the acceptance of a mandate under the League of Nations for the administration of Palestine 'with a view of its being reconstituted as the National Home of the Jewish people.'

II

It is now twenty years since the Council of the League of Nations entrusted Great Britain with the mandate for Palestine. The general political atmosphere has changed. Opposition to Jewish aspirations in Palestine has become stronger than it was in 1917 or even in 1922. But one fact can be clearly established. The policy of the Jewish national home has supporters among the representatives of all sections of British public opinion. It has never been a one-party policy. Members of all groups in Parliament, Conservative, Liberal, Labour, and Independent Labour alike, have produced from their ranks staunch champions of the Zionist cause. It has friends among members of the Government and back-benchers, among prominent editors and ordinary reporters, among people with Right-wing opinions and people of the extreme Left. Sympathy with Zionism runs through every department of British life.

The Labour Party, above all, has a unique record on the problem of Palestine. As a movement, it has remained faithful all along to the principles proclaimed in its 'War Aims Memorandum' (1917). The Labour Party Conference at Scarborough (1920), Brighton (1921), Llandudno (1930), Scarborough (1931), Edinburgh (1936), Bournemouth (1937), Southport (1939), Bournemouth (1940), London (1942); Trades Union Congresses at Plymouth (1936), Norwich (1937), Blackpool (1938), and numerous Socialist declarations and speeches in Parliament, have all consistently expressed Labour's sympathy with the policy of the Balfour Declaration, and its vigorous protest against the many attacks made on the Jewish National Home and the attempts to check its growth.

The Labour movement strove to make the League of Nations a living reality, believing that by and through the League international justice would be secured, international co-operation fostered, and the fear of war banished from the world. The Palestine policy of British Labour was an organic part of that general purpose. The policy of the mandate, which was the result of a firm belief in international authority and good faith, has always been staunchly defended by Labour spokesmen. The international aspect apart, there is also a sociological reason for Labour's particular interest in Palestine. The Socialist ideals of the Palestine Labour movement have naturally had a strong appeal to British Labour. But there is also sympathy with the persecuted Jews based on a knowledge of the Bible and Jewish history. Many of these elements have, of course, played an important role in the general approach to Zionism, as has been apparent in the utterances of British representatives of various political creeds. But if all those public men spoke mainly as individuals, Labour spoke with a united voice, as a movement. No one has more clearly summarized Labour's attitude to the Palestine problem than its own leader, the present Deputy Prime Minister.

In the course of a message to Zionists on the eve of the last

general election, in November 1935, Mr. C. R. Attlee stated: 'The British Labour Party recalls with pride that in the dark days of the Great War they associated themselves with the idea of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people and that, ever since, the annual conferences of the party have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort towards its realization. They have never faltered, and will never falter, in their active and sympathetic co-operation with the work of political and economic reconstruction now going forward in Palestine. . . . We are proud of our close association with the organization of Palestine Labour, who have fulfilled their responsibilities in the rebuilding of Palestine in a manner which has earned world-wide admiration.'

III

The sympathy with the aspirations of the Jewish people in Palestine expressed by the representatives of all shades of public opinion in Great Britain has not been accidental. It has been a result of the profound sympathy for the Jews and the whole-hearted recognition of their right to the Holy Land felt by the common people. A remarkable document was published by the London *News Chronicle* at the time of the Palestine conferences (6th March 1939). It was the result of a survey by the British Institute of Public Opinion on the question as to whether the British Government should continue its policy of allowing Jews to settle in Palestine. The replies received showed that sixty per cent were in favour of the continuation of that policy, fourteen per cent were against it, and twenty-six per cent gave no opinion.

'British sentiment, as shown by the Institute's survey,' the report declared, 'is strongly in favour of continuing the policy of allowing Jews to settle in Palestine. But the large proportion of those who would express no opinion would seem to indicate that a fairly considerable section of the public does not

clearly understand the complicated moral and legal factors of the problem. This proportion rose to thirty-eight per cent among the women questioned, and in none of the opinion groups was it less than one-fifth. . . . Feelings on the subject as revealed by the comments made to the Institute's interviewers in the course of the questioning indicated that many people regarded Palestine as the natural home of the Jewish race, and, therefore, think that they are entitled to settle there. Other comments suggested that the persecution of the Jews in totalitarian countries has strongly affected the sympathies of many regarding the Jewish people.'

Commenting on the result of the Public Opinion Survey, the *News Chronicle* stated in a leading article:

. . . any solution which resulted in the British Government abandoning the Balfour Declaration, which pledged a National Home to the Jews, would have most unfortunate results. . . . A promise is a promise, even in these totalitarian times. Even from the point of view of sheer expediency it would be unwise to go back on the Declaration. The fact that Britain had patently broken her word would have a disastrous effect on her prestige in the Colonial Empire. From the military point of view the running sore of Palestine might be healed, but Jewry throughout the world would be alienated from Britain and opinion in the United States would be profoundly disturbed.

. The Public Opinion Survey's report and the *News Chronicle* comment give a clear indication of the attitude of the British people. It should be remembered that the survey was made after about three years of disturbances and at a time when there was great confusion in the minds of the general public on the Palestine issue. The acceptance and the later abandonment by the Government of the Partition scheme, active agitation by the Mufti's agents in Great Britain against the Jewish National Home, and the general tendency towards appeasement in some circles created a deadlock, and it seemed to many that the British Government had tried its best and that no solution was possible. But for those circumstances, which exercised con-

to its abrogation. Even on the most generous interpretation of the right hon. gentleman's proposal, they must conflict violently with the opinions expressed by those who devised the Balfour Declaration and by every statesman, be he British, Empire, or American, who has expressed opinions on the Balfour Declaration since.'

Mr. Herbert Morrison said: 'We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of the pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America.'

The opposition of the Liberal Party in the House was not less strong. Sir Archibald Sinclair said:

'It [the White Paper] is a repudiation of solemn pledges which Parliament and the people of Great Britain have given to the Jews.'

Mr. Churchill spoke of 'a plain breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration,' and 'another Munich.'

Mr. Amery said: 'I could never hold up my head again to either Jew or Arab, if I voted . . . for what, in good faith, I repeatedly told both Jews and Arabs was inconceivable, namely, that any British Government would ever go back upon the pledge given not only to the Jews, but to the whole civilized world when it assumed the mandate.'

As soon as the results of the division on the Palestine White Paper in the House of Commons were announced, it was generally observed that the Government majority was exceptionally small. Despite the fact that a three-line whip had been issued to Government supporters, the White Paper policy received a majority of only eighty-nine. *The Times* parliamentary correspondent pointed out that, in addition to the Government supporters who voted against the White Paper, and in addition to those who for reasons of health were not able to be present, a considerable number must have deliberately abstained because they could not genuinely support the new Palestine plan, but did not wish to embarrass the Government. It was clear that had the matter been left to a

free vote of the House of Commons, the policy would have suffered an overwhelming defeat. The Government gained a formal success in Parliament, but it was a hollow victory. A second debate on the White Paper took place in the House of Commons on 20th July 1939. The subject under discussion was the Colonial Secretary's announcement about the suspension of legal immigration of Jews into Palestine. Coming so soon after the publication of the White Paper, this latest measure was received with consternation, not only by Jews, but by all who have the welfare of Palestine at heart. The debate was a moral defeat for the Government. The majority vote dropped to sixty-nine—in spite of the fact that the Chamberlain Government could usually count on a majority of two hundred.

Opposition to the White Paper has been very strong outside the House. Condemnation of that document was expressed at the annual conference of the British Labour Party at Southport on 29th May 1939. A special resolution declared: 'That the White Paper, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principle of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent upon Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The policy of the White Paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews.'

The Liberals were not less emphatic. In the course of an official statement issued on 19th May 1939, the Liberal Party declared: 'The policy of the White Paper . . . represents a surrender to violence and would destroy one of the few constructive portions of the peace settlement. It involves the British name in discredit and will be indignantly repudiated by all Liberal opinion at home and abroad.'

At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held in Edinburgh the last week in May 1939, the Rev. Dr. George

Mackenzie, convener, in presenting the report, said, referring to Palestine: 'If they might call it a White Paper as a symbol of innocence it ought to have a black edge all round it—a token of mourning. The Paper was the death of the Jewish trust in the integrity and sanctity of the British word. . . . They would not find a single sentence in it from which they could guess that Palestine had been the homeland of Jews for 2,500 years.'

V

The outbreak of war brought the White Paper controversy to an end for a time, but on 21st November 1939 Mr. Philip Noel Baker (Labour), in the course of a number of observations on a motion of adjournment moved by Mr. Geoffrey Le Mander with regard to the Government's attitude towards the meeting of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations during the war, said:

'The Under-Secretary will not be surprised to hear me mention the word "Palestine." I hope he will be able to give me a pledge that His Majesty's Government will not try to force through this assembly the White Paper, and that he will not try to secure its assent to the policy contained in the White Paper on Palestine of last summer. We remember the circumstances in which the White Paper was prepared and the report upon it by the Mandates Commission of the League. It would be playing fast and loose with the sacred principle of the sanctity of international obligations for which we are fighting in this war to endeavour to do such a thing. It would cause a shock throughout the world and not the least in the United States of America, and will still further damage our moral credit there.'

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. R. A. Butler) replied that the White Paper must come before the Council of the League. 'The Council is not meeting, and there is no question of Palestine being raised at these

meetings,' he said. But on 29th February 1940, the text of the Palestine Land Regulations was issued by the Government. It met with strong opposition from Labour, Liberals, and a number of Conservatives. It was challenged as a breach of the promises made in the Balfour Declaration and the mandate and because it disregarded opinions expressed by the Permanent Mandates Commission. Naturally, the anxieties of war helped Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the then Colonial Secretary, to get a better hearing in the House and in the press.

VI

The fall of the Chamberlain Government and the creation of Mr. Churchill's administration on 10th May 1940 did not bring about any important changes in the Palestine policy. Nevertheless, it did not make things worse, which would have been unavoidable under Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and, in any event, it has produced a better spirit in the relations between the Jewish authorities and the British Government.

On 30th July 1941 Mr. Lipson asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons whether His Majesty's Government still adhered to the policy of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to establish a national home for Jews in Palestine. Mr. Churchill replied that there had been no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Palestine. Mr. Price then asked whether the Government stood by the principle laid down in the White Paper. The Prime Minister replied: 'I have said that there has been no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Palestine. That policy has been announced at various times over a considerable number of years.'

Mr. Churchill's reply did not throw much light on the Government's policy, but that fact in itself was an indication of the present position. Such problems as major Palestine policy were apparently to be left for the end of the war.

Labour has remained true to its traditional policy of sympathy and support for the policy of the Jewish National Home. This was clearly underlined in a special resolution adopted at the annual conference at Bournemouth, on 13th May 1940, a few days after Labour entered the Government. That attitude was again confirmed at the London conference of 28th May 1942, when a special paragraph on the Jewish problem was included in the general resolution on international affairs, and moved by Mr. Philip Noel Baker, M.P., on behalf of the national executive. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The paragraph reads as follows:

'The Conference records its deep detestation of the sufferings inflicted upon the Jewish people. It reaffirms its determination that, in the new international order after the war, Jews shall enjoy civil, religious, and economic equality with all other citizens, and that international assistance shall be given to promote by immigration and settlement the Jewish National Home in Palestine.'

Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary for Air and leader of the Liberal Party, expressed his views about the future in the course of a special message to the annual conference of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, held in London on 25th January 1942. He wrote:

'Your work for Palestine in the past has commanded my admiration and respect, and I look forward to the days when the re-establishment of the reign of law among the nations will enable you to set free all your energies again for this work.'

Twenty-five years have passed since the publication of the Balfour Declaration. Many documents have lost their value during that stormy period. But the British Government's pledge of 2nd November 1917 is not dead. To use Field Marshal Smuts's expression: 'It still stands on rock foundations.' It cannot be otherwise, unless the United

Nations should betray the principles for which democracy is fighting this war.

We may fittingly conclude with the following pronouncement by Mr. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister (November 1941):

‘Assuredly in the day of victory the Jew’s sufferings and his part in the struggle will not be forgotten. Once again, at the appointed time, he will see vindicated those principles of righteousness which it was the glory of his fathers to proclaim to the world. Once again it will be shown that, though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.’

ZIONISM AND BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION

By A. L. Easterman

THINGS looked black for Great Britain and her Allies for the greater part of the third year of the first world war against imperial Germany. Disaster had followed disaster on the battlefields of Europe as 1917 advanced into its final quarter:

. . . we had the failure of the Nivelle offensive, the mutiny of the French troops, the breakdown of Russia, the massacres of Passchendaele, the Italian collapse at Caporetto. The 'Western Front' strategy had once more turned out to be a bloody repulse, bloodier than ever. That failure had reacted on the position in the Near East, for before the end of the year it had rendered inevitable the conclusion of armistices with the Central Powers by both Russia and Rumania, and their exit from any further military service on the Allied side. The fighting on land in 1917 went heavily in favour of the Central Powers. It is impossible for any impartial observer of the events of 1917 to come to any other conclusion. . . . They claimed that their armies were victorious on all European fronts, and their claim could not be challenged.

This is the melancholy summary of Lloyd George, the war Premier of that dolorous year, and the pages of his *War Memoirs*, narrating the events of the time and the prospects that might follow them, fully justified the inherent pathos of his words 'we needed encouragement' which precede the description which I have quoted. As the summer of 1917 was reaching its end there was nothing at all in the war situation that might promise the 'encouragement' for which Lloyd George was looking to brighten the Allied horizon. The British people were in the mood of clenched teeth; grim determination combined with unwilling despondency, characteristic of the British nation in time of crisis, was the temper of the public mind in those dark days. In retrospect, in analogy, these were the dismal Dunkirk days of 1917. In a sense, that summer was

worse than its doleful counterpart of 1940, for 600,000 of Britain's finest sons did not return from France, but had perished in savage, futile slaughter in the slime and mud of the battle-fields of Flanders.

'Then, unexpectedly, came a 'patch of blue sky which lightened the gloom that hung over the battle-field as a whole.' While the British armies were 'stuck in the mire in and around Passchendaele,' hearts were lifted by the news that came out of the Holy Land, where, too, defeat and setback had been suffered, in the spring, by the forces of the British Empire. At the end of August, Allenby launched what was to be his master-stroke against the combined armies of the Germans and the Turks in Palestine. Moving rapidly eastwards and deceiving the enemy by a feigned attack against Gaza, Allenby carried Beersheba by assault on 31st October. Then, rolling up the enemy line, Britain's first victorious general pressed on Gaza, which the Turks abandoned on 7th November. On 9th December 1917 Jerusalem was surrendered to the British conqueror. To all intents and purposes Turkey was out of the war, and, with the conquest of Palestine, the hope arose that the beginning of the road to final victory appeared to have been reached, at last. The spirits of British men and women rose. The Land of the Bible had always made the deepest impress upon the British people, and, for them, the supreme significance of this great military triumph, the first of the war, was that renewed hope for civilization had come, once again, out of the Holy Land.

That this momentous event bore an import far transcending the mere fact of triumph on the field of battle was emphasized by the publication, on 2nd November 1917, of a formal declaration by the War Cabinet relating to Great Britain's major intentions with regard to the impending conquest of the Holy Land. This was the historic Balfour Declaration stating that the British Government 'views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jews.' It is no

exaggeration to say that this pronouncement immediately caught the public imagination in Great Britain and throughout the British Empire. It is equally true to say that there was a spontaneous realization of the dramatically epoch-making character of the Declaration, and that there was a profound sense of the bridging of 2,000 years of history by the linking of the Jews of the twentieth century with the ancient people of Israel. That the British people were to be the instrument by which the prospective revival of the Land of Israel was to be achieved was a major factor in stimulating a widespread enthusiasm for the New Palestine envisaged by the Balfour Declaration.

The entire British press was loud in its acclaim and approval. 'Epoch-making is, perhaps, not too strong a term to apply to Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild . . . the declaration has a significance that cannot be mistaken. . . . The family of nations would be enriched by the return of one of its oldest and most gifted members to a regular and normal place within the circle,' wrote the London *Daily Chronicle*.

'In deciding to give the Zionists their chance, the British Government have done a bold thing and a wise thing. . . . Considered merely as a gesture, what is there in the war to compare in effectiveness to this decision? . . . The promise of the restoration of Palestine will count for more in the judgment of the world than all the desolation wrought by the German legions among the nations whom they have trodden under foot,' the London *Daily News* commented.

The *Observer* declared that 'There could not have been at this juncture a stroke of statesmanship more just or wise. No one needs to be told that it will send a mystical thrill through the hearts of the vast majority of Jews throughout the world. . . . It is no idle dream which anticipates that by the close of another generation the new Zion may become a State . . . forming a true national people, with its own distinctive rural and urban civilization, its own centres of learning and art, making a unique link between East and West.'

The *Nation* emphasized the Declaration as a war aim based on justice and as an act of reparation for wrongs committed against the Jews: '. . . our own record towards the Jewish race is, from Cromwell's day downwards, one of relative enlightenment; but it is on the conscience of all Christendom that the burden falls on secular persecution which this enduring race has suffered. . . . To end this record by restoring the dispersed and downtrodden race to its own cradle is a war aim which lifts the struggle in this region above the sordid level of Imperial competition.'

These examples will serve to illustrate the impact which the promise of the Restoration of the Jews to their homeland made upon the mind of Britain. The sentiments they expressed had their counterpart in enthusiasm in every newspaper in the country. The general theme of the comment on the Balfour Declaration was the drama of the fulfilment of Israel's hopes and dreams and the pride that it had fallen to the lot of the British people to attain its achievement. The records of the time disclose no single instance of a dissentient voice or of a critical pen among all the views expressed by British commentators; nor was there any suggestion that the British Government's solemn pronouncement was dictated either by the temporary expediencies of war strategy or by the limited design of securing the allegiance of Jews in the countries not directly associated with the struggle waged by the Allied Powers against the aggressions and pretensions of imperial Germany. The Declaration was hailed as a symbol of the new civilization which it was the intention of the democratic nations to create after the war, and as an act of high policy giving justice and equality to an ancient, dispersed, and too-long-tortured nation.

The mood of endorsement and enthusiasm did not endure. Age-old and deeply based antagonisms superseded, gradually and inexorably, the exhilarations and generosities aroused by the stimulation of war. Vision became blurred by the drab exigencies of 'normality'; imagination became blunted by the

hard facts of hard times following the stresses of uneasy peace, and the disappointment that the sun of a new world did not miraculously rise with the cessation of hostilities. The wranglings of Versailles disclosed that the nastiness of political ambition and national rivalries, the prejudices of people and nations, and the human impediments to international harmony had not been obliterated by the sacrifice of millions of lives, and had survived the idealistic protestations by which the leaders of the warring States had inspired their sons to go into battle. The world seemed still far from being 'safe for democracy' and, as the stresses of these arduous days grew, the bright Jewish hopes of 1917 receded.

Signs of dimming prospects for the New Jerusalem came quickly with the political disappointments of the peace and the baleful economic consequences of war, with the resentments of trade depression and high taxation. The drab hazard of difficult living superseded the high adventure of dying on battle-fields and, in consequence, those ideals which had fired men to think of the sufferings and injustices of others, and which had inspired them to crusade for the freedom of the down-trodden, lost their urgency and steadily disappeared. The noble purposes of wartime now assumed the meretricious garb of political slogans about which the political parties and their press wrangled with all the gusto of pre-war days.

Among the very first of the wartime idealisms to lose their lustre was the promise to aid the Jewish people to regain the land of their ancestors. Although the 'coupon election' immediately following the war confirmed Lloyd George in the premiership, with an overwhelming parliamentary majority, his power was no longer that of the universally accepted wizard who, by his energy and daring, had brought the nation out of defeat and guided it to victory. Now he was assailed as the old politician rousing all the old, and many new, resentments and rivalries. His opponents sought to confound and upset his works, during and since the war. They searched avidly and

discovered that many of his great purposes during the war were, for them, 'rash policies' and 'reckless commitments.' They found 'wanton extravagances' and 'hazardous enterprises.' They cast around for chinks in the old warrior's armour, and it was not too difficult to find weak spots. Lloyd George's opponents took quick advantage, too, of the rapidly diminishing angers of war. 'Hang the Kaiser' lost its reality and urgency. 'The Hun' became, at the worst, 'the beaten German,' even 'the gallant enemy.'

The Jewish people must have forgotten their history if they were grieved to find that, in these changing conditions, the writers and the politicians who guided British public opinion no longer hailed the Jews as brothers in arms or sustained the high idealism of the promised return of the Hebrews to Judaea. Sections of the press, notably those most closely associated with the opposition to Lloyd George and those with closest access to the popular ear, began to place the Balfour Declaration in a new and less dazzling context than when it came, in 1917, as an almost providential symbol of victory. The noble promise was made to appear as an unwarranted exaction, as a promissory note which the British Government had no right to have given and had no duty to honour.

Steadily, a faction hostile to a Jewish national home in Palestine took shape. Aided by elements, in the press and in Parliament, with a record of distaste for the Jews in general, the anti-Jewish Palestine party gathered strength and voice. The chief theme of hostility to the fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration was the allegation of the 'extravagance' of the promise and the unforeseeable, but inevitable, burdens it must throw on the already overburdened shoulders of the British taxpayer. In these post-war days of economic stress, of heavily increasing unemployment and commercial depression, this was a weighty argument which served admirably to cast popular suspicion upon the plan to 'hand over' Palestine to 'the Jews.' The allegations, bolstered up by the indiscriminate use of figures

showing the heavy cost to Britain of maintaining an army of occupation in Palestine, served their purpose only too well. To reinforce the financial argument full use was made of the slogans denouncing a Jewish national home 'maintained by British bayonets.'

Popular-press lords made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, not for purposes of devotion, nor for impartial investigation, but to secure the necessary material to support their campaigns against the Balfour Declaration. They found, in Palestine, many elements among the army and the temporary administrators ready and eager to supply the required material. They found, too, the interesting and 'colourful' Arab who, under the Turks, had hardly thought and was not permitted to think of liberation or independence. They found disaffected Arab politicians, reared in Beirut and Paris, and Arab feudal barons, happy in the luxuries of Cairo and Alexandria, who had developed new notions of 'self-determination.' Reversing the roles of the crusaders of the Middle Ages, the press lords of London marched back full of indignation against the Christian-Jewish intrusion upon the citadel of Islam. These inverted Peter-the-Hermits roared from their printing presses against the Jewish National Home, while the fledgeling Arab politicians and the leisurely Arab landlords, encouraged by the might and prestige of such powerful allies, underscored political agitation in London by incitement to riot in the Holy Land. The more frequent and serious the riots in Palestine, the more vociferous and persistent the opposition in Britain to the Jewish National Home; the more persistent the opposition in London, the more encouragement to disaffection in Palestine. It was a vicious circle which steadily widened and, as it widened, British public opinion became more embarrassed and puzzled by the seeming difficulties of honouring the Balfour promissory note of 1917 to the Jewish people.

Thus, the people of Britain came to accept the truncation of historic Palestine, by the severance of Trans-Jordan, and the

succession of White Papers, each whittling away the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine as they were envisaged in the Balfour Declaration, and as they were contemplated by the Mandate of the League of Nations. These limitations and restrictions upon the Jewish National Home have been capable of acceptance by the British public because the widespread agitation against Jewish Palestine has been based, for the most part, on misunderstanding of the principles and the aims of the Jewish National Home. Misunderstanding has been aided, however, by the absence of objective appreciation of policies and facts, and by a failure to accompany criticism with impartial explanation. That has been unquestionably true of the great and powerful popular press and of a considerable section of Britain's 'small circulation' periodicals. Save for that small part of the British newspaper world imbued with the traditions of British Liberalism, the printing presses have not been used to explain the ideals, the purposes, and the necessities of the Jewish national home. Nor have they adequately explained the vital place of a Jewish Palestine within the orbit of the British Commonwealth.

At the end of a quarter of a century, it cannot be said, with truth, that British public opinion understands the magnificent vision and the resplendent idealism which were given political and practical expression in the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917.

III. THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

PALESTINE:

ITS CENTRAL PLACE IN JEWISH LIFE AND THOUGHT

By the Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool¹

A CLASSICAL legend tells of Antaeus, the mighty giant of Libya, who overcame every one who grappled with him, until Herakles, learning that the secret of his strength was contact with Mother Earth, lifted him into the air and crushed the life out of him. The symbolism of this legend may be aptly applied to the Jewish people. Its strength can be measured by the intimacy of its contact, its weakness by the weakness of its contact, with the historical motherland of Jewish life, Palestine.

Palestine has been the most comprehensive and most potent formative influence in Jewish life. Indeed, the whole expression of Judaism in the Torah is unintelligible without reference to Palestine. True that the founder of Judaism, Abraham, came from Mesopotamia; but it is no less true that Judaism does not begin until the moment when Abraham is bidden to leave his native land and to get him forth to the land which we know to-day as Palestine. Dwelling in various places there, he planted stakes in the soil. With the acquisition of the cave in the field of Machpelah he obtained his first symbolic permanent title to a portion of the land of Canaan.

In that land of Canaan, repeatedly the divine promise was made to him: 'And the land which thou seest I give to thee and thy seed forever . . . from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates . . . for an everlasting possession.' This basic sacred covenant runs as a refrain through the whole Book of

¹ Reprinted by permission from *The Jewish Library* (New York), vol. ii, ed. by Rabbi Dr. Leo Jung.

Genesis. It is repeated to Isaac and is confirmed to Jacob. Joseph's last charge, when he is dying in Egypt, is that his bones shall be taken up from Egypt and brought back to the land which God swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

In these foundation stories of Jewish history, the everlasting relationship between the Jewish people and its land is emphasized as organic and inalienable. Palestine is established as the land of Jewish promise and hope. What follows in Israel's story is the long but successful struggle to attain an increasingly close hold on the land, despite violent outside influences weakening that hold. The exodus from the land to Egypt is a misfortune necessitated by sheer famine. The exodus from Egypt back to the land is the fulfilment of a centuried promise, that marks the beginning of Jewish national history. The Hebrews ceased to be a disorganized mass of spiritless slaves and became a people in the prospect of returning once more to Canaan, the Holy Land, the land sworn to the patriarchs.

The story then tells of the wandering struggle to approach the land, and the military struggle under Joshua to regain it. It continues with a depiction of the time of the Judges, when the weakness of the hold on the land threatened the very existence of Jewish life. Not until the time of Saul, and still more definitely of David, did the Jewish tribes consolidate their tenure of the land. Then and only then was Jewish life first given the opportunity to develop its own free, characteristic contributions to mankind's social, moral, and spiritual wealth.

The capture of Jerusalem by David focused the Jewish relationship to its land in one sacred spot. There the Temple was built, serving as a sanctuary, around which Jewish spiritual and national life integrated itself. To that supreme shrine the people of the land would come up from all over the country for the three pilgrim festivals of the year, bringing with them the fruits and produce of the land. As generation followed generation, and ever more hallowed religious memories clustered around the national shrine, Zion became more distinctive by

the symbol of Judaism. To this day the Holy City is the unique, outstanding, local symbol of Jewish religious life and national hope to the scattered millions of Jewry.

So organic was the connection that was set up even in ancient days between the Jewish people and its land, that when David was forced through the enmity of Saul to flee beyond the confines of Jewish Palestine, he remonstrated with Saul for driving him out from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord. It was, in David's words, as much as to say to him: 'Go serve other gods.' Even at that remote period, before Jerusalem had become the national nucleus and international shrine of Judaism, the outlaw David felt that outside of his own beloved Jewish Palestine it was religiously impossible for him to lead an unalloyed Jewish life.

This refrain resounds throughout the Bible; Judaism in its all-engrossing entirety is possible only in the land of the Jews. Other lands are, from the religious point of view, what the prophet calls unclean lands. When by the waters of Babylon the exiled Jews sat down and wept when they remembered Zion, and they that had taken them captive asked of them words of song and mirth, saying: 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion,' the sobbing answer of the Psalmist was:

How shall we sing the Lord's song
In a foreign land?
If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning.
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I remember thee not,
If I set not Jerusalem
Above my chiefest joy.

Emotionally, the exiles found it as impossible to sing the songs of Zion in a strange land as religiously they found it impossible to carry out the fullness of their religious duties outside the land of their religious tradition. The books of the Bible speak with one voice in regarding the exile not as a divinely motivated

blessing, but as a punishment imposed by the unswerving, divine justice. The Bible knows nothing of that favourite pessimistic rationalization of the nineteenth-century assimilating Jew, that the scattering of Israel was a divine dispensation for the blessing of the Jew. It uniformly interprets it as a punishment for Israel's and Judah's moral transgression and religious faithlessness. The exile is threatened by the prophets before the event as the most calamitous conceivable outcome, and by the prophets after the exile as Israel's deepest woe. Though a Jeremiah with unclouded political sense might counsel the exiles in Babylon to settle down there and seek the peace of the city whither they had been carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, he nevertheless continued unceasingly to voice the glowing, golden hope of the regathering of the people and their restoration to their own land, after the penitential chastisement of the exile shall be complete.

Then there break on the ear the superb paeans of joyous rhapsody which fill the later chapters of the Book of Isaiah, depicting with lofty emotional fervour the return of the exiles to the land of their covenant. One Messianic vision after another glistens from the pages of the sacred text, reaffirming the inevitability of the gathering of scattered Jewry back to the Holy Land and the Holy City, and the re-establishment of the Jewish people as a religious community in their own land, freed from the religious contaminations of the exile. When the Lord brought back 'those that returned to Zion, we were like unto them that dream.' The dream was fulfilled. The Jewish community which had entered almost into the jaws of death in the Babylonian exile was re-established in Palestine, and the hope of Jewish survival was renewed.

During the following centuries, Jewish life struck deeper and deeper roots into the soil, gaining from that soil a spiritual strength which flowered into a continuous creation of brilliant religious values. From time to time, Syrian, Egyptian, or Roman imperialism strode bloodily across the land, trampling

in carnage upon this free Jewish spirit, until finally the legions of Rome destroyed the Temple, the Holy City, and ravaged much of the land. But though in the last desperate conflict hundreds of thousands of Jews lost their lives, or were sold as slaves far and wide throughout the Roman Empire, even the ruthless might of imperial Rome was not able to shatter the physical and the spiritual bond which linked the Jew to his land. The conqueror might strike medals recording that Judaea was captive to Rome; he could not uproot from the heart of the Jewish people that love of their land which had grown ever more closely intertwined with their heart-strings through the consecrating chastisements of their history and the joys of their religion. From all over the exile Jews continued to send their offerings of money to the community on the site of the Temple to which they had formerly sent their offerings, and this link with the land and its Jewish dwellers has persisted through the Middle Ages into our own days.

Not even the murderous suppression of Bar Cochba's revolt and the driving of a plough over the site of Jerusalem could snap the bond between Israel and the Land of Israel. Jewish life, renouncing political statehood and concentrating on its spiritual treasures, persisted in Palestine in the face of the bitterest oppression. Judaism was taught in secret in attics and caves, until rabbinical academies could flourish more openly. There was no hiatus in Jewish occupation of the land. There were always Jews in Palestine. It was in Palestine early in the common era that our traditional Jewish prayer book received a great impetus for its development, in compensation for the central, official, national worship destroyed with the destruction of the Temple. The Mishnah, the basic post-biblical code of Jewish law, put into writing around the end of the second century of the common era, epitomizes the essence of the oral teaching of the academies in Palestine in the preceding centuries. Two centuries later, there appears the Palestinian Talmud, a purely Palestinian development of the teachings of the

Mishnah. A little later the Masorah, i.e. the storehouse of grammatical study safeguarding the letter of the text of the Hebrew Bible, comes to its fullest development in Palestine. The city of Tiberias was long the centre of the intensive cultivation of Jewish learning which continued in Palestine through the early centuries of the common era.

Modern Hebrew poetry was born in Palestine among the Paitanim of those centuries. Much of the Midrash, that almost inexhaustible mine of lofty ethics, deep faith, poetic imagery, and sage teaching that is so characteristic a creation of the Jewish genius, was developed and compiled in Palestine at this time. The Targum (the Aramaic translation of the biblical text), reflecting to some extent the traditional and Midrashic interpretations of the Bible, is also for the most part a product of Palestine of those early centuries of the common era. In a word, all that is of the highest value in Jewish religious and literary productivity during seven or more centuries after the supposed Roman destruction of Jewish life in Palestine, proves to be the creation of a Palestinian Jewry that was, if politically impotent, spiritually vigorous and intensely creative.

When in the seventh century the Moslem invasion overran Palestine, it found there a strong Jewish life. When in the eleventh century the Crusaders rode into Palestine, they found Jewish communities still in the ancient land. They did their merciless best to wipe out by massacre every trace of Jewish life in the ancient land of the Jews. But more than the fire and sword of men's hate was needed to prevent Jews finding their way back to the land. In the twelfth century, the two greatest Jews of the era, Judah Halevi and Moses Maimonides, found their desperate way to the land, and tradition tells that both are buried there. In that same century, the traveller Benjamin of Tudela found Jewish communities in one centre after another in Palestine. In the beginning of the thirteenth century (in 1211) more than three hundred rabbis of France

and England went together in a spiritual crusade to settle in Palestine. In the words of the old record in the *Shebet Yehudah*: 'They built there synagogues and houses of study.' This migration of rabbis was motivated, as were many other returns of the Jews to Palestine, by the conviction that only in Palestine can one lead a complete Jewish life. Indeed, Rabbi Jehiel of Paris set forth to the land of his fathers, among other reasons, so that he could there offer the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, a duty he was precluded from fulfilling in the Diaspora. It was Palestine, the optimum land for a pious Jewish life, which drew this long procession of rabbis and other pious Jews towards the land about which the ancient rabbinical tradition said that living in that land is as important as all other commands of Judaism put together. There, said the ancient rabbis, one has a God. There one lives without sin ('the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity'), and to be buried there is as though one were buried beneath the holy altar.

Nahmanides (thirteenth century) counted the duty of living in Palestine as one of the 613 commandments of the Law of Moses. His personal fulfilment of that commandment gave a new impetus to Jewish settlement in the land. From his time onwards, with the waning of the violence of the Crusaders, Jewish residence in the land of Palestine had been continuously and uninterruptedly growing. Jewish life in Palestine in the fourteenth century is faithfully depicted for us by Estori ha-Farhi. Especially from Egypt and other neighbouring lands pilgrimages to Palestine were frequent. During the later Middle Ages, many a Jew and outstanding rabbi, impelled by an age-long homing instinct and driven by persecution in the lands of exile, found his dangerous way back from the western lands of Christian Europe to a secure refuge in Moslem Palestine.

The Sephardi Jewish settlement in Palestine which grew up after the expulsion from the Iberian peninsula revived the ancient learning of the four holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, and produced the brilliant mystic settlement

of sixteenth-century Safed, and that great stabilizer of Jewish life, the Shulhan Aruch. In the next century, refugees from the horrors of persecution in Poland brought new vigour to the Ashkenazi community. It is needless to specify further the familiar modern story of the increasing strength of the Jewish settlement in Palestine during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Suffice it that it has here been indicated that, from the passage of the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua 3,000 years ago to this day, there has been an organic, uninterrupted continuity of Jewish life in the Land of Israel. This physical continuity of Jewish settlement in the land, persisting invincibly and ineradicably in the face of the hosts of Nebuchadnezzar, the legions of Titus and Hadrian, and even the wantonly bloody crusading hordes, is a fact of far-reaching historical importance. It substantiates physically the unquestioned spiritual claim of the Jew on his land of promise. It reveals the Jew as continuously in Palestine from of old, and the Christian and the Moslem as of yesterday. It justifies Jewish immigration into Palestine to-day as a matter of right and not of sufferance.

Is it true to-day, as it was in Bible times, that Jewish life is dependent on Palestine? The rabbis of old enumerate several important groups of Jewish duties which can be carried out only in the Holy Land. The agricultural laws of the jubilee and the release of the soil apply to Palestine and not to the exile. All the biblical regulations concerning Jewish civil government, together with their traditional interpretations, apply only to Palestine and not to the exile. The whole of the vast code regulating the sacrificial system, the offerings of the first fruits, the tithes, etc., applies only to Palestine and to the Temple in Jerusalem. The laws of ritual cleanliness, for the most part, apply only to Palestine.

But we would be mistaken if we interpreted this as implying that the rest of Judaism is independent of Palestine. In point of fact, the rest of Judaism is saturated with Palestine, for

Judaism is the outgrowth of the Bible, and the Bible, as a Palestinian book, can ill be understood and lived apart from its Palestinian background. Even to-day the tourist coming to Palestine sees the living Bible, and understands its background, its figures of speech, its atmosphere, its culture, its laws, as he has never been able to do outside of the Land itself.

The very Hebrew language of the Bible is the ancient language of Palestine. A Jewish Judaism, if the phrase may be allowed, is inseparable from the Hebrew language. So long as Judaism preserves the Hebrew language, which the Bible calls 'the language of Canaan,' that Judaism will be enveloped in its original Palestinian Hebraic atmosphere. Those Jews who yield up Hebrew yield up the true and original Palestinian spirit of their Bible and of their tradition, and substitute for it a non-Palestinian and non-Jewish spirit. As truly as English is instinct with the gentile western spirit, or Arabic speaks with the accents of Islam, or Yiddish expresses the soul of the eastern European ghetto, so truly does Hebrew express the soul of free Palestinian Jewish life.

But the spirit of Palestine is felt in modern Judaism in much more than its Hebraic linguistic envelope. The whole structure of the Jewish calendar is Palestinian. It was in Palestine that the calendar which regulates Jewish life was established. The time-table of Jewish life is set, not by the meridian of Greenwich, but by that of Jerusalem. Hence the tradition of the two days of the festival, so as completely to overlap the time of celebrating the festivals in Jerusalem. Our three major Jewish festivals are reflections of meteorological conditions in Palestine. Passover is the spring festival of Palestine. With it we associate the reading of the spring pastoral, the Song of Songs. In addition, Passover recalls the story of the exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land, and the motif of the Seder rapidly passes from the slavery of Egypt to the Hallel of Palestine.

Shabuoth (Feast of Weeks), with its flowers, is the festival

of the wheat harvest of Palestine. Between the seven weeks of Passover and Shabuoth, we count the seven weeks of the Omer, preserving the memory of the daily offering of barley in ancient agricultural Palestine. The festival of Succoth (Tabernacles) is in its celebration a joy of the late Palestinian harvest. The Succah, with its display of fruits, reproducing the Palestinian harvest booth, and the palm branch, myrtle, willow, and citron, are all elements in the celebration of the festival of the harvest ingathering in Palestine. The prayer for rain on the eighth day of the festival, as the prayer for dew on Passover, is a prayer for these blessings to fructify the soil of the ancient land of the Bible. Though in our northern lands the snow may be falling, nevertheless the Jew in those lands sits in his Palestinian Succah, by an invincible effort of his emotional will and an indomitable faith in his ultimate return to his land and its vineyards reconstructing around himself in an irrelevant environment the fragrance of the harvest of Palestine.

The sole function of Tisha b'Ab and the other minor fasts is to recall to the Jew the tragic days of defeat and destruction suffered in Palestine. Hanukah is naught but the continued rejoicing at our having reclaimed Palestine and our Judaism for ourselves over 2,000 years ago. The New Year of Trees, a festival which has taken on a new meaning since the blossoming of Palestine in our own days, is celebrated in these climes in the heart of winter; it is the Arbour Day of Palestine.

Thus, with the exception of the purely spiritual days of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, when the Jew gives himself up exclusively to introspection and the purifying of his soul, and the minor festival of Purim, from beginning to end the calendar of Jewish fasts and festivals is Palestinian in origin, Palestinian in sentiment, Palestinian in symbolism, and Palestinian in significance. Take away from Jewish life its Palestinian relationship, and you must remove from it practically the whole calendar of Jewish observances.

The religious attractive power of Palestine is regarded in Jewish law as stronger even than the cohesion of the strongest of all socio-religious unions—the relation of husband and wife, and the relation of children to parents. For a wife who refuses to go with her husband to Palestine may be divorced therefore, forfeiting even the rights otherwise assured her by her Kethuba. Similarly, parents who would forbid their children going to Palestine forfeit their right to be obeyed in this particular. For the command to live in Palestine has the higher authority of the Divine Father.

The legacy of Palestine permeates Jewish life even down to fine detail. The wine used at Kiddush, at a wedding, at the Seder, and at every Jewish celebration of joy, is a sacramental symbol that naturally originated in the vineyards of Palestine. The tallith is a garment which, *ceteris paribus*, one sees worn in Palestine to-day as the traditional costume of the primitive Canaanites. Covering the head in the reverence of worship reflects not the standards of the Occident, where convention bares the head in respectful gesture, but those of Palestine, where dignity and respect demand that the head should be covered. The breaking of the glass at a wedding is the reminder of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. In the grave itself some of the physical dust of Palestine is placed together with the earthly body of the Jew who has died. From birth to death, the Jew who lives a Jewish life is surrounded by the poetry, the symbolism, and the influences of Palestine.

Every synagogue is built so that the worshipper, when entering, or facing the Ark of the Law, shall bow towards Jerusalem, and in every minyan of prayer, the worshippers, when standing, face the direction in which Jerusalem lies. Page after page of the prayer book, that spiritual continuation of the Bible, breathes the hope of Zion rebuilt, the gathering of her exiles, and the re-establishing of Jewish life in its centre in Palestine. On fast days the Jew bows himself to the ground and lifts his voice in dirges bewailing the destruction of the Sanctuary and organized

Jewish life in Palestine. On these and other notable days in the Jewish year, he fills his prayer book with the glorious poems of Judah Halevi and other inspired singers of the Middle Ages, who always end their odes, psalms, and hymns with a prayer for the restoration of Jewish life in Palestine.

Such are some of the expressions in Jewish religious life of this unparalleled attachment of more than three thousand years to the land in which Judaism was born and grew up. It is as true to-day as it was in the days of King David, or by the waters of Babylon, that a complete Jewish life is unthinkable without Palestine.

The Jewish people has done its best to carry Palestine with it on all its wanderings, bearing in its bosom the Bible, which is the voice of Zion, and the ceremonial of Judaism, which is the nexus of physical continuity with Zion. Ardent souls, unsatisfied with this, have in all generations, at danger to life and limb, broken the shackles of their exile and made pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Theirs have not been armed crusades, but the quiet, passionate seeking out by the Jewish soul of the source of its inspiration and the place of its millennial hope. In any generation it has required only the ecstatic outpourings of a Messianic enthusiast to stir up Jewish communities to acclaim a pseudo-Messiah, and prepare to set forth to Palestine under his leadership. Jewry was ever ready to believe that the appointed time had come when God would arise and have compassion on Zion, and her servants would again take pleasure in her stones and love her dust. One of the most pathetic chapters in all the poignant history of the Jew is this constantly recurring vision seen through a blur of tears of a miraculous Messiah to re-establish Jewish life in its fullness in Palestine.

In our own days, this Messianic enthusiasm has been tempered by the realization that Heaven helps those who help themselves, and the Jewish will to persist and to reintegrate Judaism in the Promised Land is taking on organized forms. Palestine is not regarded by Jews as a refuge for the oppressed

of Jewry. The very agricultural colonies in the Argentine, settled by Jews rescued from European persecution, in their perfect freedom lift up their eyes to Palestine as to the symbol of Jewish hope. They send their contributions for regenerating the land that is hallowed by the whole of Jewish life. The articulate voice of the Jewish people has declared with intense emphasis that no East African protectorate can take the place of Palestine, for only in Palestine inheres Judaism's inexhaustible wealth of spiritual associations. As unerringly as the compass points to the magnetic north, so to Palestine turns the soul of the Jew who craves the opportunity of living a free, unconstrained, fulfilled Judaism, at home in its natural environment.

Whether we look at the physical national history of the Jews with its unbroken attachment to the Land of the Fathers, or whether we look to the spiritual history of the Jew expressed in Judaism with its thousandfold roots in, and fruits from, the soil of Palestine penetrating every observance of Jewish life, Palestine stands revealed as the background of the Torah, the matrix of the Jewish spirit, the home of the Jewish people, the central fact and symbol of our Jewish unity.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION:
THE HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS UNTIL THE END OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Dr. Franz Kohler

THE endeavours which during the first world war culminated in the foundation of the Jewish national home originated from many and far-reaching historical roots. The deepest of these has a religious character. The idea of the inseparable link between Israel and the Promised Land passes through the whole Bible, from Abraham's call to the speeches of the last prophets. Canaan is the aim of the people delivered from the Egyptian bondage, Zion the hope of the Jews deported to Babylon. There is no other space in the world into which the Jewish genius projected his Messianic day-dream for the gathering of the dispersed people and the union of mankind than Eretz Israel. No tyranny, no new happiness acquired in other countries have been able to interrupt this connection of the Jewish people with its land. On the contrary, it grew even stronger supported by memories and venerable rites, by prayers, doctrines, and poetry. Thus it developed into a historical power. Revolt after revolt flared up, lit by the flame of this great love, from Bar Cochba till Abu Isa who, nearly seven hundred years after the fall of Jerusalem, prepared a Jewish army in Persia for the delivery of Palestine. Such darings were bound to fail; the hope of the Return, however, could not vanish. Thousands and thousands of Jews found their way to Palestine since the earliest days, immortal men and nameless people, individuals, families, and masses. Most cruel persecutions soon became a powerful motive besides the inner impulse as Judah Halevi described it. When a new wave of horrors raged throughout the Jewish world in the seventeenth century, the hour had come to transform the hope for deliverance into

eccentric action. The time was ripe for Shabbetai Zebi. More than any in the long sequence of fanatics who, faithful or deceiving themselves, believed to be chosen Messiahs, he succeeded in inspiring the Jewish people. The Shabbetaian movement even influenced Jewish generations in the following centuries.

In the meantime another current deriving from the Christian world, but directed towards the same aim as Jewish Messianism, made its appearance. Augustine's doctrine maintaining that the Church itself was realizing the millennium—the one-thousand-year reign of the resurrected blessed souls, as predicted in John's Revelation—had become shattered since the twelfth century. The development of a new Christian Messianism was in progress in connection with the rise of the Reformation. The millennium still to come became a matter of impatient expectations. Ideas of this kind especially constituted an element of the Puritan revolution through their connection with 'English Hebraism,' the deep and understanding love of the British people for the Bible, and they adopted thereby a unique character. The belief in the dependence which, after God's will, exists between Israel's redemption and that of mankind turned into a doctrine, namely that of the Restoration of the Jews. The adherents of this doctrine believed that according to the prophecies and the Revelation the dispersed Jews, together with the descendants of the lost ten tribes, will not only be converted, but also restored to the land assured to them by an eternal covenant. Already, in 1621, the book which, for the first time, dealt with this doctrine in a thorough treatise, had been published: *The World's great Restauration or the Calling of the Jews and with them of all the Nations and Kingdoms of the Earth to the faith of Christ*, by Sir Henry Finch. Another outstanding work of this kind in that early stage was Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*, which appeared in 1648. It contains within the framework of a strange novel the attractive picture of the returned Israel

forming an exemplary community on the sacred soil. Oliver Cromwell himself may be mentioned in this connection. The readmission of the Jews to England initiated by the Lord Protector was closely linked with the doctrine of the Restoration of the Jews, as is clearly indicated by Manasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel* and his *Humble Address in behalfe of the Jewish Nation*.

The tradition of this doctrine once created in England has never been interrupted. It was developed into a spiritual movement by numerous tracts, treatises, dissertations, letters, and poems. John Milton, the greatest representative of 'English Hebraism,' dealt with the question in an admirable way in his *Paradise Regained*. Even the age of enlightenment caused no setback to the doctrine, but marked rather a further development. Isaac Newton himself became one of its adherents. Thomas Burnet, author of the *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, wrote the first methodical treatise on the matter; William Whiston, mathematician and theologian, enriched the doctrine with new interpretations of prophecies; and David Hartley, the famous physician and philosopher, in the middle of the eighteenth century, incorporated the doctrine of the Restoration in his *Observations on Man*. In 1747 appeared the first book dealing with the question without a conversionist tendency, S. Collet's *Treatise of the future Restoration of the Jews and Israelites to their own Land*.

Differing from the striking continuity shown in England, the same idea found its expression on the Continent more in various plans and projects which ought not to be considered as fancies of individuals, but as symptoms of general spiritual tendencies. Isaac de La Peyrière, a Huguenot scholar, probably of Jewish origin, already in 1643 appealed in his *Du Rappel des Juifs* to the King of France to convey the children of Israel unconverted to the Holy Land. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Olinger Paulli, a Dane, made his appearance with his Messianic aspirations. On the occasion of the peace negotiations at Ryswick (1696) he, most urgently, asked the King of

England, William III, and the Dauphin of France to restore the Jews to Palestine. Early in the eighteenth century the French Marquis de Langallerie aimed at settling the Jews in the islands of the Aegean Sea. Lastly, in the second half of the same century someone approached Moses Mendelssohn, the philosopher, with a project for the Restoration of the Jews. Mendelssohn in his reply, dated 26th January 1770, though critical of the scheme, pointed out prophetically that a general European war appeared to him to offer the only chance of the scheme ever being realized, thus showing an astonishing foresight, as well as a deep understanding of the Jewish Question as an unsolved problem of world politics.

All this happened before the French Revolution had also marked a turning point for the Restoration movement by the awakening of a national consciousness. The year 1797 brought the imaginative scheme of Charles Prince de Ligne, but at the beginning of 1798 the first unmistakable indication in this period of a national movement among the Jews themselves appeared in the form of a *Letter to the Brethren*, whose anonymous author was probably an Italian Jew. He proposed the establishment of a council to be elected by all Jews in accordance with a carefully prepared scheme. This Jewish representative assembly was to have conducted negotiations with the French Government in regard to the Restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. In the next year, Bonaparte, in the course of his Oriental expedition, invaded the Holy Land. Here he issued a proclamation to the 'rightful heirs of Palestine,' offering to the Jewish nation their ancestral land, 'Israel's patrimony,' appealing to them to 'take over what has been conquered, and . . . to maintain it against all comers.' That act, whatever the immediate motives of its issue may have been, constitutes a milestone in the history preceding the birth of the Jewish national home. It was the first official, and the most impressive, scheme dealing with the rebuilding of Palestine before the Balfour Declaration.

Nowhere was Bonaparte's expedition to the East watched with closer attention than among the adherents of the British movement for the Restoration of the Jews. A stirring discussion about the chance of a speedy Restoration began. It was like a revival of the seventeenth-century millenarianism.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century the movement for the Restoration of the Jews turned to a more immediate political activity. Lewis Way, who devoted all his energy and means to the Jewish cause, laid before the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) a memorial asking civic and national emancipation for the Jews. It was the first attempt of this kind. In 1825 Mordecai Manuel Noah, former consul of the United States in Tunis, declaring himself as 'Judge of Israel,' made his call to the Jews for a settlement on the banks of Niagara, in 'Ararat, City of Refuge.' The failure of this quixotic enterprise does not diminish its historic significance. But the new decisive impulse for the movement had to come from the events provoked in the thirties by the struggle of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, against the Ottoman Empire. The 'Eastern Question' focused the attention of all European Powers. Simultaneously, the question of a Jewish Palestine loomed large again, stressed by the events of the Damascus affair. There was then much sympathy in Great Britain for the Jews. It found expression, in Parliament through Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston, but still more in an intensification of the movement for the Restoration of the Jews on an unprecedented scale. Besides a most intensive literary and public activity, two extraordinary personalities made the most conspicuous contribution to the development of this period: Lord Ashley (afterwards the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury) and Colonel Charles Henry Churchill, grandson of the fifth Duke of Marlborough. Convincing that Great Britain had been chosen to perform the task of Cyrus, Lord Ashley addressed, in 1840, a thoroughly prepared memorandum to Viscount Palmerston, providing for a guarantee by the Powers for the settlement of Jews on the

soil of Palestine. On the other hand, Colonel Churchill's great and original contribution to the history of the Restoration movement consisted in that he perceived the decisive part which the Jews themselves had to play, and that he himself took the initiative in this direction. As 'resident officer' at Damascus he addressed, on 14th June 1841, a letter on the subject to Sir Moses Montefiore. In this masterly letter the principles of and demands for the creation by the Jews of what nearly half a century later was called the 'Zionist Movement' were formulated in a very impressive way.

The promising stage 1840-1 passed, however, without any visible effect. The hour had not yet come, neither for Lord Ashley's plan nor for Churchill's far-seeing appeal. But, in spite of this failure and the disappointing solution of the Eastern Question, the rise of the movement towards the revival of the Jewish nation went on steadily. Again and again, new champions for this idea made their appearance. It is a particularly striking fact that two British colonial officers contributed valuable and realistic suggestions in the forties. E. L. Mitford, a member of the Ceylon civil service, advocated the progressive creation of an independent Jewish State in Palestine. To make the country prepared for the reception of Jews he declared it desirable to make the Mohammedan inhabitants retire to the extensively cultivated countries of Asia Minor, where they would be put in possession of tracts of land far superior in value to those they abandoned. On the other hand, Colonel George Gawler, late Governor of South Australia, did not believe in 'wild schemes.' He saw the possibility of a 'tranquillization of Syria and the East' in a well-planned colonization of Palestine by the legitimate and, for this purpose, particularly fitted Jewish nation. Not satisfied with a mere theory, Colonel Gawler formed the Palestine Society, which developed into a Palestine colonization fund. He also accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore on one of his seven visits to Palestine. During the following decades the Rev. A. J. H.

Hollingsworth, author of *Remarks upon the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Jews in Palestine*, James Finn, British consul in Jerusalem for many years, the industrialist Sir Edward Cazalet, Colonel C. R. Conder, the explorer of Palestine, and General Sir Charles Warren were among the foremost pioneers of the movement. George Eliot became the literary representative at this stage by creating the classical novel of the Jewish renaissance, *Daniel Deronda*.

The theological doctrine of the Restoration of the Jews continued to be cultivated by many new adherents, e.g. by the Christadelphians. The founder of this movement, Dr. John Thomas, in his *Elpis Israel (The Hope of Israel)*, predicted a 'pre-adventual' colonization of Palestine by the Jews, based on purely political principles.

All these voices indicated that the Restoration of the Jews, without having lost its religious significance, had become also a political problem of vital importance for Great Britain. Palestine had shifted from the scope of the Roman Empire and the Roman Church to the world-wide sphere of the British Empire. Nothing could stress this fact more than the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Benjamin Disraeli in 1875. In the following year, Lord Shaftesbury, once again, summed up his view in a striking article:

Syria and Palestine [he argued] will ere long become most important. . . . Will there, when the coming change has taken place, be any more congenial field for the energies of the Jew? . . . And has not England a special interest in promoting such a restoration? It would be a blow to England if either of her rivals should get hold of Syria. Her Empire, reaching from Canada in the west to Calcutta and Australia in the south-east, would be cut in two. . . . To England, then, naturally belongs the role of favouring the settlement of the Jews in Palestine. . . . This is not an artificial experiment: it is nature, it is history.

The question of the Jewish resettlement in Palestine did, nevertheless, not yet influence the eastern policy of the Empire. But already the first signs of a change appeared in the

encouragement of Jewish colonization, and in the protection afforded to the Jews generally by the British consuls in Jerusalem. Besides this, the extraordinary activity of Laurence Oliphant foreshadowed the approaching upheaval which could only be delayed but not more prevented. This amazing man, who united in his soul the capacities of traveller and philosopher, of a mystic and a man of action, spent the last ten years of his life working for the Jewish cause. He wrote the splendid book *The Land of Gillead* (1880), went to Constantinople, negotiated with the Porte, and settled in the Holy Land. Moreover, he joined his own efforts with those of the Jewish people, which at that time were again on the way to the old Messianic aim.

There were many reasons for this. The revival of Hebrew literature and the creation of a Hebrew press, the new historical studies revealing the treasures of the Jewish past, the general rise of national consciousness stopped the assimilationist tendency in many parts of the Jewish world. Besides these positive and creative factors a negative and hostile force worked from the outside world in the same direction. The old hatred of the Jews began to rage in the new form of militant and organized anti-Semitism. Under the influence of all these historical elements Jewry was in a state of transformation. Significantly enough, the first signs became visible in the circles devoted to traditional Judaism. In these quarters the rabbis Judah Alcalay, of Semlin, and Hirsch Kalischer, of Thorn, became the pioneers. The socialist philosopher Moses Hess came from a different sphere of the Jewish world. His stirring confession, *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), became the first classical expression of Zionist ideas. Henceforth the Zionist movement grew steadily, even although the term was coined only afterwards. Soon, in the east, Perez Smolenskin, an ardent pioneer, revolutionized the young generation. A new Jewish type, the *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion), creating the synthesis of the old Messianic longing for redemption with a determined and active mind, made its appearance. When at the beginning of the

eighties the storm of pogroms burst out in Russia, these young Jews did not join the vast masses going across the ocean to America. They made their adventurous way to their own homeland, in the face of enormous odds. The name of these groups, BILU, was formed from the initials of a biblical verse (Isaiah ii. 5). Thus the first Aliyah, the Anabasis of the Jews, began.

It was to these pioneers that Laurence Oliphant offered his help in Constantinople. Nevertheless, only a handful of them reached their aim. They found there a small Jewish population, the pious men of the Halukah and the colonists of the Rothschild settlements. The Bilu had entered Eretz Israel with the intention of continuing the national life of the Jewish people on its own soil, conscious of being the *avant-garde* of the Jewish masses left behind. Now the moment had come in which the suggestions made by Colonel Churchill, exactly forty years before, could be realized. Leon Pinsker was the first to form, in his *Auto-Emancipation* (1882), a clear programme for a common action of the whole Jewish nation. Soon afterwards, the Hebrew philosopher, Usher Ginzberg ('Ahad Ha'am'), created in his doctrine about the priority of spiritual values and of Palestine as a spiritual centre the corrective of a national policy merely guided by practical motives. And then Theodor Herzl, the inspiring leader, with his astonishing ability for statesmanlike deeds, made his appearance. Now, the Zionist movement became the stream in which all the currents directed towards the revival of the Jewish nation were to be united.

Laurence Oliphant did not witness this new stage. But worthy successors—non-Jewish—fulfilled his task, such as the Rev. William H. Hechler, chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna, who joined Theodor Herzl in the beginning of his career. Two fateful decades had still to elapse since the First Zionist Congress (1897) before the efforts inside and outside the Jewish world united definitely in order to perform a positive achievement—the issue of the Balfour Declaration.

THE REBIRTH OF HEBREW

By Leon Simon, C.B.

THE fundamental achievement of Zionism in the cultural sphere is the rebirth of Hebrew as a living language. Ideal and practical considerations have combined to link the return to Palestine with the return to Hebrew. On the one hand, the aims of a national movement cannot be confined to the political and economic aspects of life; they necessarily include a cultural renaissance, which in the case of the Jewish people must be based on Hebrew, the language of its national past and of its great original contributions to civilization. On the other hand, a common language was a practical necessity for a polyglot community of Jews coming to Palestine from all parts of the world; and no language except Hebrew had any claim to general acceptance.

Hebrew had ceased to be exclusively a religious language, even in the rather wide connotation of the term 'religious' as applied to Judaism, a century or more before the birth of Zionism as an organized movement. From the latter half of the eighteenth century onwards, a secular Hebrew literature had developed among the Jews of eastern and central Europe. This was, however, a purely literary movement; its language was one in which nobody habitually and spontaneously spoke or thought. It was only with the emergence of the national idea in the eighties of last century, and the establishment of Jewish settlements in Palestine, that Hebrew began once more to be a spoken language, and the possibility was created of a Hebrew literature firmly rooted in the life of the people.

The Hebraization of the Jews of Palestine did not come about as a matter of course. The first generation of settlers on the land took their native Yiddish with them, and were under no practical compulsion to add to their many burdens

some 80,000 pupils, and the educational structure is crowned by the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, in Jerusalem.

Hebrew as it is spoken and written in Palestine to-day is substantially the language of the ancient literature of the Jewish people, though naturally a great deal of adaptation and development has been necessary to fit it for its new function under the conditions of the twentieth century. There has inevitably been much borrowing of foreign words and idioms, and not a little loss of purity to offset the gain in vitality. The street is bound to exercise a more powerful influence than the study on the growth of a living language. But the influence of the street has not been left unchecked. Since the early days of Jewish resettlement in Palestine, men of scholarship have sought, not without success, to keep the development of the language on right lines. Hundreds of words have been dug out of the vast storehouse of ancient Hebrew literature, much of it familiar only to the learned, to enrich the vocabulary of the man in the street, who, left to his own devices, would have been constrained to adopt much more widely the simple but dangerous method of transliterating European words into Hebrew characters. To some extent also Arabic, a kindred language, and one which has never been divorced from actual life, has been drawn into service for the enrichment of living Hebrew. The medium through which the guiding hand of scholarship is brought to bear on the development of the language is the Va'ad Halashon, the 'Language Committee,' with its seat in Jerusalem, a body in some respects analogous to the French Academy, though without any authority except that derived from the standing of its members and the willingness of the public to accept its guidance.

A living national language is the necessary foundation of a national culture; it is no more than that. The function of Hebrew in a revived Jewish national life is to be not merely a medium of expression, but a medium of self-expression. Fully to deserve its name, Hebrew literature must bear the distinctive

impress of the Hebrew spirit. Implicit in the ideal of the Hebrew revival is the belief that in returning to its ancient idiom the Jewish people is regaining the possibility of genuine self-expression, and that the rebirth of the language will be followed by a new flowering of Hebraism.

That belief can find its full justification only in the future. There is vigorous Hebrew literary activity in Palestine, and no lack of poets, novelists, and essayists of distinction; but most of the authors of note have come to Palestine from the Diaspora, with their minds and styles already formed, and it is only now that there is beginning to emerge a generation of writers born in the country, and drawing their inspiration from its natural characteristics and its distinctive life. A great deal of effort, too, is necessarily given to the translation into Hebrew of the masterpieces (and not only the masterpieces) of other literatures. Moreover, in a community which is in process of comparatively rapid growth, brought about largely by immigration from other countries, there is not that homogeneity of type and broad uniformity of outlook which is presupposed in a truly national literature. A representative Hebrew literature will come into being when there is something relatively stable for it to represent. And what is true of literature is equally true of the other main spheres of cultural activity, of music and the arts. Here also, and more particularly in architecture, there is considerable wealth of achievement, but it is too early yet to speak of a distinctively Hebrew note or style. As yet there are very few native-born Palestinian artists, architects, sculptors, or composers. There is, however, no reason to doubt that in course of time the Jewish people, once more firmly rooted in Palestine, will give true expression to its individuality in all the fields of cultural activity.

Meanwhile, if the new Hebrew culture of Palestine cannot yet rightly be said to be national in the sense of reflecting the national character and spirit in any clearly definable way, it is already national in the not unimportant sense of belonging to

the many and not merely to the few. The general level of intellectual interest and artistic sensibility among the Jews of Palestine is relatively high; literature, drama, art, and music have a wider appeal than in many other communities with a higher material standard of living. This is particularly true of the small communal settlements which are dotted up and down the country. It is a fact which should be of great significance for the cultural development of the future.

The renaissance of the Hebrew language and culture under the impetus of the national idea has not been wholly confined to Palestine. It was mentioned above that a secular Hebrew literary movement had developed in Europe before the advent of Zionism. That movement derived from Zionism a new impulse and a new orientation. Hebrew literature in the Diaspora has been weakened by the migration to Palestine of many of its foremost writers; but, on the other hand, cultural developments in Palestine have stimulated interest in Hebrew speaking, and in the wider cultural aspects of the national revival, among the Jews of the Diaspora. Before the outbreak of the present war there was in Poland and in Lithuania an extensive network of Jewish day schools in which Hebrew was the sole language of instruction. Among the assimilated Jewish communities of western countries such a development was not possible; and the percentage of western Jews who speak Hebrew, or even read modern Hebrew books or journals, is still insignificant. A more widespread effect of Zionism is to be seen in the general acceptance, at any rate by the younger generation, of the idea that Judaism is not a matter of religion only, that the distinctive Jewish spirit is capable of manifesting itself in literature, music, and the arts, and that all its manifestations come within the ambit of what should interest the Jew as such. There is to-day a greater awareness than there was a generation or two ago among western Jews of this wider connotation of the term 'Jewish'; and it is associated, more or less consciously and directly, with the Hebrew renaissance in

Palestine. In this sense the cultural achievements and ideals of Zionism extend beyond the confines of Palestine to cover the whole of the scattered Jewish people, of which Palestine is in idea, and has to some extent become in reality, the 'spiritual centre.'

Throughout the centuries of their dispersion the Jews have made not unimportant contributions to human culture and progress, whenever and wherever they have been allowed to participate freely in the cultural activities of the nations among which they have lived. Critics of Zionism have been known to condemn it as a retrograde movement, on the ground that it would weaken the forces of progress in Europe by withdrawing some part of their potential reinforcements into Asia. Even on the assumption, which finds little support in recent history, that Jews living in Europe will in future be welcomed as co-architects of European culture, Zionists hold that this criticism is baseless, that, indeed, it misses the whole point. They regard a measure of Jewish concentration in Palestine not as a desertion of the forces of progress, but, on the contrary, as a means to their strengthening. They hold that whatever service the Jewish people is capable of rendering to the cause of universal ideals will be most effectively rendered when that people is once more able to speak to the world from its own land in its own language.

the many and not merely to the few. The general level of intellectual interest and artistic sensibility among the Jews of Palestine is relatively high; literature, drama, art, and music have a wider appeal than in many other communities with a higher material standard of living. This is particularly true of the small communal settlements which are dotted up and down the country. It is a fact which should be of great significance for the cultural development of the future.

The renaissance of the Hebrew language and culture under the impetus of the national idea has not been wholly confined to Palestine. It was mentioned above that a secular Hebrew literary movement had developed in Europe before the advent of Zionism. That movement derived from Zionism a new impulse and a new orientation. Hebrew literature in the Diaspora has been weakened by the migration to Palestine of many of its foremost writers; but, on the other hand, cultural developments in Palestine have stimulated interest in Hebrew speaking, and in the wider cultural aspects of the national revival, among the Jews of the Diaspora. Before the outbreak of the present war there was in Poland and in Lithuania an extensive network of Jewish day schools in which Hebrew was the sole language of instruction. Among the assimilated Jewish communities of western countries such a development was not possible; and the percentage of western Jews who speak Hebrew, or even read modern Hebrew books or journals, is still insignificant. A more widespread effect of Zionism is to be seen in the general acceptance, at any rate by the younger generation, of the idea that Judaism is not a matter of religion only, that the distinctive Jewish spirit is capable of manifesting itself in literature, music, and the arts, and that all its manifestations come within the ambit of what should interest the Jew as such. There is to-day a greater awareness than there was a generation or two ago among western Jews of this wider connotation of the term 'Jewish'; and it is associated, more or less consciously and directly, with the Hebrew renaissance in

Palestine. In this sense the cultural achievements and ideals of Zionism extend beyond the confines of Palestine to cover the whole of the scattered Jewish people, of which Palestine is in idea, and has to some extent become in reality, the 'spiritual centre.'

Throughout the centuries of their dispersion the Jews have made not unimportant contributions to human culture and progress, whenever and wherever they have been allowed to participate freely in the cultural activities of the nations among which they have lived. Critics of Zionism have been known to condemn it as a retrograde movement, on the ground that it would weaken the forces of progress in Europe by withdrawing some part of their potential reinforcements into Asia. Even on the assumption, which finds little support in recent history, that Jews living in Europe will in future be welcomed as co-architects of European culture, Zionists hold that this criticism is baseless, that, indeed, it misses the whole point. They regard a measure of Jewish concentration in Palestine not as a desertion of the forces of progress, but, on the contrary, as a means to their strengthening. They hold that whatever service the Jewish people is capable of rendering to the cause of universal ideals will be most effectively rendered when that people is once more able to speak to the world from its own land in its own language.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
1918-43

By Professor Norman Bentwich

THE laying of the foundation of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on Mount Scopus, in Jerusalem, was the first fruit of the Balfour Declaration. When in 1918 Dr. Weizmann came out to Palestine with the Zionist Mission, to take steps for the implementing of the Declaration, he included in the objects of the mission to consider the feasibility of the scheme for establishing a Jewish University. In June of the year, while the campaign was being waged in the Jordan valley twenty miles away, and to the accompaniment of the firing of the guns, twelve foundation-stones, one for each tribe of Israel, were laid in the presence of General Allenby, the heads of the Moslem and Christian communities, and an assembly of Jews from the redeemed part of Palestine and from Egypt. The site was the house and garden of an English lawyer, which had been acquired during the war. It was also the place where Titus was encamped when he besieged Jerusalem. Dr. Weizmann declared that the founding of the University in the midst of the struggle meant that the Jewish people were determined to go beyond restoration, and to create something in their national home which would be an instrument for a better future. Learning was the Jewish dreadnought, and in the University the wandering soul of Israel would reach its haven.

Some time passed before it was possible to build upon the foundation. In 1924, however, a beginning was made with two research institutes, one of biochemistry, the other of Hebrew and Jewish studies. Before that, Einstein had given the first lecture, expounding his theory on relativity. A decision had been taken that in its first period the University should be

primarily concerned with research rather than teaching; it should seek to add to knowledge before imparting it.

The University was formally opened in April 1925. Lord Balfour came to gather the fruits of his planting; and the ceremony took place in the open-air amphitheatre on Mount Scopus, before an audience of 5,000, which included representatives of universities and scientific institutes and Jewish delegations from all parts of the world. He stressed in his address the special character of the University and the novelty of the experiment. A new epoch was beginning in the history of the Jewish people when they would again make a contribution to civilization, not by the separate efforts of individuals, but in a national home. It was, too, a new experiment, to adapt western methods and the western form of University to an eastern country and to education in an Oriental language. Recalling the contribution which three Jews of his generation, Einstein, Freud, and Bergson, had made to thought, he spoke with conviction of the creative function which the Jews would exercise in their own university, and of the fitness of Hebrew as an instrument that could be adapted to every branch of knowledge.

An annual income of £40,000 was secured, largely from America, and there was a rapid development in two directions, the humanities and the biological sciences. On the side of the humanities the Institute of Jewish Studies, which embraces every branch of the spiritual and intellectual heritage of the Jewish people, was supplemented by a School of Oriental Studies, which covers Arabic literature and language, the art and archaeology of the Near East, Egyptology, Assyrian and other Oriental languages; and the Institute of General Humanities, which includes philosophy, classical and Romance languages and literatures, ancient, medieval, and modern history, and international relations. On the side of the sciences eight departments were established: the department of chemistry, which comprises four sections—biological, inorganic, applied, and

physical; the institute of physics; the institute of mathematics, concerned particularly with pure mathematics; the departments of botany, zoology, and geology, which are engaged in research into those aspects of the natural history of Palestine and the surrounding lands; the department of parasitology, which is engaged on the study of Mediterranean diseases; and the department of hygiene and bacteriology, which is concerned partly with the study of infectious diseases, such as malaria, and partly with research into human and animal nutrition. New buildings were added on Scopus for these departments; and if the grandiose plan for the University, which had been prepared by Sir Patrick Geddes, was still far from achievement, one part of it, the National and University Library, arose on a commanding pinnacle confronting the Holy City.

The guiding aim in the first period of growth was to develop those studies and sciences for which Palestine offered some special quality. They were obviously, on the one side, the Hebrew and Jewish heritage, and the culture and civilization of other Semitic peoples; and on the other, those sciences which concern the development and well-being of the country and neighbouring lands. At the same time the University was anxious to bring out that, while Jewish studies lie at the heart of the intellectual revival, they must form part of a broad humanistic discipline. The study of Hebrew literature, Jewish philosophy, Jewish history, and Arabic thought should be combined with the study of general philosophy, general history, and the classical languages.

While the faculty of the humanities is concerned with the biology of Judaism, the faculty of the sciences is concerned with the biology of Palestine and the Middle East. The physical conditions conduce to research; for the University is situated on one of the great dividing places of nature. Westwards from it you observe the natural life of the Mediterranean, eastwards the natural life of the Orient and the desert.

The University, which grew steadily during the first eight

years, took on a new stature in 1933 when the exile of the Jewish mind from Europe began in Nazi Germany. The enlargement and strengthening of our intellectual citadel was the answer to Hitler's savagery. It was clear to all, Gentiles as well as Jews, that it must play an outstanding part in gathering the genius and talent which had been driven from the academies of Europe. Two things could be done at one and the same time: the Hebrew University could develop to its full estate, and a permanent home could be found for the homeless professors and students. The opportunity could not be fully taken at once because of the calls on the Jewish people to provide for the elementary needs of thousands of refugees; but by the outbreak of the second world war the University had become the greatest refugee university in the world. It included sixty exiled professors, lecturers, and research workers on its staff, and over 600 exiled students from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and, lastly, from Italy. During that period it had developed two full faculties of research and teaching, one of humanities, the other of the mathematical and natural sciences; a pre-faculty of medicine with a medical research centre attached to the Hadassah-Rothschild University Hospital; and a school of agriculture in which teaching was initiated. Its academic staff numbers nearly 150; and the Senate now directs its academic development.

When the Royal Commission reported on Palestine in July 1937, they spoke with admiration of the development of the University:

It is remarkable to find on the fringe of Asia a university which maintains the highest standards of western scholarship. On its staff are names well known in Europe and America. Its research work can compare with that of many older institutions. The scope of this research is necessarily limited by the remoteness of Jerusalem from the centres of modern civilization; the University wisely concentrates, therefore, in certain departments on such an exhaustive study of Palestine and the neighbouring countries as cannot be made elsewhere. In so doing it has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the

Near East, and in particular of Arab life and culture. In its devotion to scholarship and good learning the Hebrew University sets an example to all Palestine.

The outbreak of war in 1939 threatened to check the progress. It seemed that the peak of development had been reached for a time. In fact, however, the University has expanded more strikingly during the last years than in any previous period. During these years the Hadassah University Hospital and the medical research centre have come into full operation; the Institute of Agriculture, endowed by a South African Jew, has been opened; the Roscnbloom Building, which houses the faculty of the humanities and the University offices, has been completed; the Kootcher Archaeological Museum, endowed by another South African Jew, has been built and equipped; the library, which holds some 400,000 books, scientifically ordered and readily accessible, has been extended, and a gymnasium has been erected for the physical training of the students. The number of undergraduates, which had reached 850 in 1939, rose to 1,200 in 1941; and though during the last year it has fallen steeply, partly because of the enrolment of 250 in the defence forces, partly because the University authorities have excluded all young males between the ages of twenty and thirty, unless they were unfit for military service, and partly because it was no longer possible for students from abroad to get to Palestine, teaching has not been interrupted. Many of the departments have taken the lead in the scientific development of the resources of Palestine for the war effort and for making the country more self-sufficient. The chemists have found means of using the oranges for citric acid, sugar, and animal fodder, as well as for alcohol and acetone. The botanists have found in Palestine local substitutes for imported raw materials of industry; the department of hygiene has made a notable contribution to the problems of wartime nutrition, the medical centre has organized classes in wartime surgery and camp sanitation, and made discoveries in the treatment of typhus and

wounds. At the same time the faculty of the humanities has maintained its work in all branches; and one of the happy features of the peace which has come to Palestine since 1939 is that Arab students have been enrolled as undergraduates. This year, for the first time, an Arab research student, a graduate of Beirut University, has been admitted. Another auspicious development of the war years has been the first appointment to a Chair of English Literature and Institutions which bears the name of Sir Moses Montefiore, the Anglo-Jewish pioneer of the Jewish Resettlement in Palestine.

Looking back over the twenty-five years since the Balfour Declaration was given, and the seventeen years since the University was opened, those who were responsible for its inauguration may have a thrill of pride in the achievement. It has fulfilled three outstanding services: (1) for the people of Palestine, (2) for the world of science and learning, and (3) for the Jewish people everywhere. For the Yishuv it is not only the crown of the educational system, but, as it were, the spear-head of the scientific development of the country on the one hand, and of the Hebraic renaissance and the enlargement of Jewish and Oriental studies on the other. Besides its work of research and teaching for regular students, it develops increasingly each year popular education for the people of the country. Its lecturers go to all the towns and villages; and teachers who have passed through the department of education are directing the educational life. Its institute of Oriental studies, moreover, is one of the chief cultural links between the Jewish and the Arab people, helping to make known Arab culture to the Jews, and enlarging the knowledge of Arabic literature and history for all. In all its departments it has made Hebrew the living voice of knowledge; and it has in that process enlarged the scope of the language.

In the academic world the University has already attained a distinct and eminent position. The leading men of science and learning in England and America have, in the last years, paid tribute to its significance in keeping the torch of learning alight

in the East while the lamps are put out in Europe. The Hebrew University is recognized universally as the principal institute for the study of the Jewish heritage and of Arab culture; and the addition to knowledge which has been made by its scientific and its medical specialists has aroused amazement and admiration. It is, without doubt, the most important instrument of research and higher study anywhere in the Middle East.

Lastly, for the Jewish people it renders an incalculable service at a time when they are passing through unparalleled trials. In Europe the centres of Jewish learning have been ruthlessly destroyed; in Jerusalem the new centre of light and learning stands out as a lighthouse, whose rays penetrate every Jewish community. Here, in this short period, Jewish minds have shown themselves capable of creative thinking in many branches of knowledge; and that gives a fresh respect and pride to the nation. The Jewish people are making in their centre of intellectual and spiritual life an original contribution to thought. At present that gift is only in its initial stage. But the promise of growing fulfilment is manifest. The University has become a strong bond of the people, representing for them the rebirth of Hebraic culture. It is taking in the life of Jewry everywhere to-day the place which the Temple of Jerusalem took in the life of the nation of antiquity; the visible sanctuary of our spirit, and a citadel of the people of Israel.

This is the eighteenth year of the life of the University; and the Hebrew symbol for 18 is 'Hai,' which means 'living.' The University, like the people of Israel in the Land of Israel, is indeed a living organism. Above every other institution in Jewry, it symbolizes and gives expression to the creative energy of the Jews as a people, and the rebirth of Hebraism.

THE HAIFA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

A word may be added about another institute of higher education in Palestine, the Technical Institute, or Polytechnic, of

Haifa. Like the University, it was planned shortly before the last war, and the foundation-stones of the building were laid in 1912 in a noble site on the slopes of Mount Carmel. Strife, however, about the language of teaching at the Institute, which the German members of the committee wanted to be German, but which the Yishub required to be Hebrew, caused delay in the inauguration of the Institute; and during the war the buildings were occupied by the Turkish and British armies in turn for a hospital. The Institute was not able to begin its proper work till 1924, shortly before the opening of the first research institutes of the Hebrew University. The Haifa Technicum, as it is known, does for engineering, architecture, and technical subjects what the University does for the humanities and the sciences. It is not only an institute for the Yishub, but it gathers its teachers and pupils from all the Jewish communities, and during the last decade has become a gathering place for many exiled teachers and students. Since the foundation - stones were laid, Haifa, which in 1912 had some 20,000 inhabitants, has become a most important maritime and industrial city with over 100,000 inhabitants, and it promises to be, as Herzl foresaw, one of the great industrial centres of the East. It is the fitting place for a technical college, which will save not only Palestine but the neighbouring lands. The Technicum comprises a technical college, a trade school, and a nautical school. The college has three departments: for civil engineering, architecture, and industrial engineering. It includes a number of laboratories, for hydraulics and testing of building materials, electrical, physical, metallurgical, and chemical, and large workshops. The trade school provides with a general education courses in carpentry, metal work, automobile mechanics, and electro-mechanics. The nautical school was added shortly before the war to train officers and men for the infant Jewish mercantile marine, and builders of boats for the growing port and fishing industries of Palestine.

The college and its attached schools attained new importance

in 1933, when young Jews were excluded from all higher and technical schools in a large part of Europe. The Institute expanded rapidly; half its staff were exiles from Germany, and more than half its students were immigrants from Europe. Its broad purpose is to train Jewish students of matriculation standard from all parts of the world, and Palestinians, Arabs as well as Jews, so that they may qualify to practise as engineers and architects in the Middle East or elsewhere. The purpose of the trade school, which has about 250 pupils from seventeen years upwards, is to give a secondary technical education specially directed to the needs of Palestine. The language of teaching in both college and schools is Hebrew.

The war has checked the growth of the Institute, but has not stopped its activities, though the number of students has fallen from 500 to 245. Since the outbreak of the war 200 students have completed their college course and entered the war industries in the Middle East; and, moreover, 400 skilled tradesmen who have passed through the school have been absorbed in industry.

The Institute takes its place in research for the war effort. Its laboratories for testing materials are in full use; its scientific staff have been experimenting in local building materials to take the place of the imports which are drastically restricted, and the nautical school has been turning out a number of marine engineers, wireless operators, and boat-builders, as well as seamen, who have been immediately engaged in the war effort. The Technical Institute has combined with the Hebrew University, the Daniel Sieff Institute for Agricultural and Industrial Research, the Medical Research Centre in Jerusalem, and the Agricultural Experimental Station of the Jewish Agency at Rehoboth in forming a scientific advisory council, which was set up at the instance of the Eastern War Supply Board in order to secure the pooling of scientific knowledge in Palestine for the war needs.

JEWISH WOMEN IN PALESTINE

By Romana Goodman

WHEN the Zionist Commission came to Palestine in 1918, before the end of the first world war, they found the Jewish population reduced by deportation, sickness, and famine to a sad remnant of about 55,000 souls. Moreover, the pecuniary help of the Halukah, on which they were dependent from their people abroad, had largely ceased. The traditional charitable institutions hardly functioned. Twenty-five years afterwards, there are over half a million Jews in Palestine, who represent a vigorous, economically and culturally self-contained, national unit, with a collective pride in its achievements, and, thanks to the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, with a political status and national consciousness of its own.

There is one additional feature, significantly taken for granted, which distinguishes the Jews in their national home from other Jewish communities; it is the equality of women with men in practically every sphere of life where the sexes can meet on the same terms. Jewish Palestine has been built up for over the last two decades by men and women alike—each according to his or her capacity.

The primitive social life of Jewish Palestine prior to the British conquest under Lord Allenby had already the embryonic potentialities of modern social conditions, which were to blossom at the first favourable opportunity. There were, of course, some of the men and women of the old Yishub who formed the advance guard of the progress to follow. But, in the main, the impulse came from those who had come to the country from the early eighties onwards. And among these adventurous spirits who had returned to Eretz Israel there were not only men but also women.

There was no conscious feminism amongst the early settlers

of the new Yishub, for the political Zionist movement had from its beginnings made no distinction between the sexes. The Shekel, the tangible symbol of adherence to the Zionist Organization, was available to every Jew and Jewess alike. But among the women who had come to Palestine to build up a new Jewish polity there were not a few who voluntarily underwent physical hardships and endeavoured to create new conditions that others to follow might benefit.

There were not wanting, at the beginning of the present century, certain attempts to organize abroad the specific interests of women in Palestine of other than of a benevolent nature. The most notable effort was that of the Verband Jüdischer Frauen für Kulturarbeit in Palästina (known as the Kulturverband), which was founded by women attending the Zionist Congress at The Hague in 1907. This body, with a considerable membership in central Europe, which also had a branch in England, was a politically neutral body, though its leadership was in Zionist hands. It devoted itself primarily to the promotion of domestic handicrafts among women in Palestine, and the lace, embroideries, etc., produced found a fair sale abroad. But, of fundamental importance, because of the practical and productive ideal it set in motion, was the establishment and maintenance of a training farm for girls at Kinnereth under the direction of Chanah Maisel, an academically trained agronomist, now the principal of the famous Agricultural Training School for Girls at Nahalal.

The Great War of 1914–18 proved the end of the old system and the beginnings of the new life that was to transform the derelict, though once fair, Land of Israel. For it was not only the Turk, dominated by the Teuton, but neglect and disease that had ravaged the Jewish population of Palestine. The transformation was to be effected to a considerable extent by the intensive efforts of two women's organizations—the American Hadassah and the Women's International Zionist Organization (known by its initials as WIZO).

Hadassah, the Zionist women's organization of America, which came into being in 1912 and claims the honour of having been founded by Miss Henrietta Szold—now one of the great personalities of Palestine—was to devote itself mainly to the Jewish health services. The Women's International Zionist Organization (founded in 1920 by Edith Edei, Romana Goodman, Henrietta Irwell, Rebecca D. Sieff, and Vera Weizmann) dedicated itself to the domestic and agricultural training of women and girls and children's welfare work. The Jewish womanhood of the world was thus united in a comprehensive endeavour that was to expand with the growth of the Jewish National Home.

This outline is not intended to present more than a brief reference to the vast network of the manifold activities of the WIZO and Hadassah (with its offspring, the Junior Hadassah), devoted to the advancement and well-being of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, and, be it emphasized here, to the general welfare of all its inhabitants. For, intended primarily for Jews, the benefits conferred by these Jewish women's organizations have, wherever applied for, been extended free to all without distinction of race or creed. Indeed, most of the beneficent work accomplished has been of a nature which, elsewhere, would have had to be the function and responsibility of the State.

The Balfour Declaration moved the deep waters of universal Jewry. Jewish women everywhere felt that the great day of national deliverance called for action. In June 1918 the American Zionist medical unit, consisting of doctors and nurses and dentists, sanitary engineers, and an administrative staff, proceeded from New York to Palestine. This first effort was to develop the network of health services, child welfare, and other activities designed to protect the physical and moral well-being of a people, now known as the Hadassah Medical Organization, and crowned by the Rothschild-Hadassah University Hospital on Mount Scopus, in Jerusalem, with the most modern equipment

in the Near and Middle East and with a medical staff unsurpassed anywhere. Hadassah's contribution to land reclamation, and the services for refugee youth carried on in Palestine under the impetus of the Youth Aliyah are constantly increasing in momentum.

In Europe there arose the spirit of Halutziuth, of women and girls who went up to the land to possess it by the labour of their hands. The epic of the Halutzim and Halutzoth—the men and women pioneers—is unexampled in its Jewish patriotism, its selfless devotion to the Zionist ideal of a free Jewish people on its own soil. There followed on this movement the response of the women all over the Jewish Diaspora, stretching from Shanghai to Buenos Aires, from the Dominion of Canada to the Commonwealth of Australia, with their combined effort through the Women's International Zionist Organization, and lately in the Youth Aliyah (on the inspiration of Recha Freier, of the German WIZO Federation), which had been founded in 1934 to promote the settlement in Palestine of Jewish boys and girls, most of them from the lands of oppression and persecution.

The first objective of the WIZO was to provide for the immigrants, who impatiently began to stream into Palestine. A hostel was erected in Tel Aviv for this purpose; and the reception of these welcome immigrant women and girls returning home became the immediate concern of the WIZO, as their training in productive occupations developed into feverish activity. It is characteristic of the WIZO work in Palestine that this hostel, a landmark in the all-Jewish town of Tel Aviv, was afterwards turned into a domestic science training school. The WIZO has established in the course of the last twenty-one years a great number of such schools and training farms, providing domestic, agricultural, horticultural, and vocational training for thousands of Jewish girls immigrated into Palestine on WIZO students' certificates. The agricultural school at Nahalal, maintained by the Canadian branch of the WIZO, has not its

equal in the Near East. The WIZO also established a series of baby homes, infant welfare centres, day crèches, etc., in which, through its Australian and New Zealand branches, the Tiuby King system was adopted.

The continuous expansion of the WIZO work in every direction, teaching and stimulating self-help, organized and supervised by its London and Palestine executives, has given to the young generation new opportunities in work on the land and in skilled industry—it has given it an assured hope in the future of their people in its national home.

The Halutzoth were not only eager to play their part in the upbuilding of the country, but also to join their male comrades in every kind of work required. It was their ambition to do whatever was at hand, on the assumption that what a man can do a woman can do likewise. Many of the Halutzoth, coming from well-to-do families, with an extraordinarily high proportion of high-school and university education, made this policy a point of honour to a degree which, in the unaccustomed climate, and with the consequent necessities for a change of diet, called for readjustment. For instance, the road-building in which large numbers of girls engaged was more a tribute to their dogged endurance than to the benefit conferred on the development of the country. It was here that the WIZO turned these energies into other constructive channels, notably into occupation on the soil, that had become to Zionists fundamental to the national revival.

Moreover, the Halutzoth found examples and guides in the pioneers that had preceded them—not a few of them had settled in the country in the forbidding pre-1914 days. There were among them women of the type of Olga Hankin, Fanya Belkin, Nehama Puchatschewski, and Feige Lehrer, now legendary figures; of Manya Shochat, whose name is bound up with two of the chief creations of the Zionist renaissance in Palestine: the *kvutzah*'s way of life and work, and the movement which produced the real heroes of Zionist history, the

Shomerim, or Jewish watchmen; of the educational expert of national renown like Chanah Maisel, who has realized the ideal of the Jewish woman on the land; of Ada Fishman, the labour leader who had created the fame of Ayanoth, the agricultural training farm for girls, established and maintained by WIZO in co-operation with the Moatzath Hapoaloth, of which she is not only the head, but the inspiring example of the simple Jewish working woman; Rachel Yanaith-Ben Zvi, who founded the working women's farms at Talpioth, near Jerusalem; Sarah Malkin of Afuleh, WIZO's girls' training farm. These were the nucleus of the Working Women's Council of the Jewish Federation of Labour in Palestine, founded in 1911, and representing to-day over 50,000 women (constituting 47 per cent of all organized workers), who have their counterpart and collaborators in the Pioneer Women's Organization in America.

It is those women who shared with their menfolk the dangers of the volunteer Shomerim, the watchmen who protected from marauders the outlying Jewish settlements, who, later on, in the days of the Arab revolt in 1936, successfully held at bay for three years the sustained effort to destroy what had been built up with so much love and devotion.

Jewish women in Palestine are likewise playing their part in the industrial development of the country. But there, too, the eagerness of women to work alongside of the men is not left unprotected, for especially women organized within the Jewish Labour Federation—and they are practically all women engaged in profitable occupations—are protected against exploitation in a land where labour legislation is practically non-existent.

In the social sphere, too, the need for raising the Jewish woman to a level far above the conditions which prevail in Oriental countries has had not only the support of organized Labour, but the help of the Histadruth Nashim Zionioth (The Palestine Federation of the WIZO)—composed largely

of middle-class women of more recent immigration—which is actively interested in social work among women and children. To the welfare of mother and child are dedicated the 174 child and social welfare institutions established in Palestine and maintained by the Histadruth Nashim Zionoth and the world WIZO.

New conditions have arisen since the outbreak of the war in 1939, which has brought Palestine within the danger zone. At the very beginning—unparalleled in the Near East—50,000 Jewesses registered voluntarily for war work, and put their offer into effect as soon as the opportunities presented themselves. Jewish women scientists, doctors, and nurses have given their services, thousands of Jewish girls have flocked to the Palestinian Auxiliary Territorial Service under the inspiring direction of the Hon. Hadassah Samuel, the chairman of the Palestine Executive of the WIZO and of the Council of Jewish Women. Jewish women have taken the places of men in agriculture and industry in order to release them for war service. Designed for the ideals of peace, the Jewish womanhood of Palestine, voluntarily organized and disciplined, has manifested that, in the time of emergency, it stands erect to defend the motherland of the Jewish race.

JEWISH PROGRESS IN PALESTINE

By Israel Cohen

THE resettlement of the Jews in Palestine since that country has been under British administration has brought about a remarkable transformation, the like of which within the same period, it can be stated without exaggeration, cannot be found in any other part of the world. The progress in the social, economic, and intellectual spheres is the result of the industry and enthusiasm of a people which had suffered for centuries in exile and dispersion, and was resolved to bestow all its pent-up energies and accumulated experiences upon the rebuilding of its national home. In the Balfour Declaration Great Britain promised that she would 'facilitate the achievement of this object,' and by the terms of the mandate she was required to place the country under such conditions 'as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home.' But the actual establishment itself has been the work of the Jewish people —the product of Jewish labour, animated and directed by Jewish capacity, and supported by Jewish capital. It has meant the conversion of a long neglected land that had been the haunt of sloth and stagnation for hundreds of years to a country that now displays a high degree of development in both the agricultural and industrial fields, and which has outstripped all other regions in the Near and Middle East in its intellectual and scientific activities.

The Jewish population of Palestine has been increased since the end of the last war nearly tenfold. Reduced to about 55,000 by the year 1918 by deportation, disease, and famine, it has since grown to over half a million, largely through the influx of new settlers, and to a smaller extent through natural increase, and it now forms over thirty per cent of the total population. The immigrants have been drawn from all parts

of the world; and while they have come mainly from eastern and central Europe, they have also been contributed by lands as varied and as remote from one another as Siberia and South Africa, Argentina and Persia, England and the United States. Those belonging to the working class are mostly young men and women, robust and ardent, who were all examined as to their physical fitness and capacity before receiving immigration certificates. They all underwent a previous training, both occupational and cultural, before setting out for Eretz Israel, and many of them endured the severest privations on the way. Popularly styled *Halutzim* (pioneers) they have indeed performed all manner of pioneering work—breaking stones, making roads and railways, building bridges, erecting houses and factories, weeding the soil, draining marshes, reafforesting the bared hills, boring wells, installing telegraph and telephone communications, and attending to every other initial requisite in the development of what had been for so long a backward territory.

There are also other categories of settlers—persons of means who bought farms or established businesses, members of liberal professions, skilled craftsmen, as well as dependants of permanent residents, and students and persons of religious occupations whose maintenance is assured. The admission of Jewish settlers has always been strictly regulated by the Government in accordance with what it regards as the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and but for the rigorous application of this rule—varied occasionally by the temporary suspension of all immigration—the Jewish population in Palestine would undoubtedly have been very much larger. Since 1933 refugees from Nazi Germany and from other Nazi-dominated countries have formed a substantial proportion of the new settlers, amounting to over 80,000.

The land upon which the Jewish national home is established has all had to be acquired by purchase, as the article of the mandate prescribing that the administration of Palestine ‘shall encourage . . . close settlement of Jews on the land, including

JEWISH PROGRESS IN PALESTINE

By Israel Cohen

THE resettlement of the Jews in Palestine since that country has been under British administration has brought about a remarkable transformation, the like of which within the same period, it can be stated without exaggeration, cannot be found in any other part of the world. The progress in the social, economic, and intellectual spheres is the result of the industry and enthusiasm of a people which had suffered for centuries in exile and dispersion, and was resolved to bestow all its pent-up energies and accumulated experiences upon the rebuilding of its national home. In the Balfour Declaration Great Britain promised that she would 'facilitate the achievement of this object,' and by the terms of the mandate she was required to place the country under such conditions 'as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home.' But the actual establishment itself has been the work of the Jewish people —the product of Jewish labour, animated and directed by Jewish capacity, and supported by Jewish capital. It has meant the conversion of a long neglected land that had been the haunt of sloth and stagnation for hundreds of years to a country that now displays a high degree of development in both the agricultural and industrial fields, and which has outstripped all other regions in the Near and Middle East in its intellectual and scientific activities.

The Jewish population of Palestine has been increased since the end of the last war nearly tenfold. Reduced to about 55,000 by the year 1918 by deportation, disease, and famine, it has since grown to over half a million, largely through the influx of new settlers, and to a smaller extent through natural increase, and it now forms over thirty per cent of the total population. The immigrants have been drawn from all parts

of the world; and while they have come mainly from eastern and central Europe, they have also been contributed by lands as varied and as remote from one another as Siberia and South Africa, Argentina and Persia, England and the United States. Those belonging to the working class are mostly young men and women, robust and ardent, who were all examined as to their physical fitness and capacity before receiving immigration certificates. They all underwent a previous training, both occupational and cultural, before setting out for Eretz Israel, and many of them endured the severest privations on the way. Popularly styled *Halutzim* (pioneers) they have indeed performed all manner of pioneering work—breaking stones, making roads and railways, building bridges, erecting houses and factories, weeding the soil, draining marshes, reafforesting the bared hills, boring wells, installing telegraph and telephone communications, and attending to every other initial requisite in the development of what had been for so long a backward territory.

There are also other categories of settlers—persons of means who bought farms or established businesses, members of liberal professions, skilled craftsmen, as well as dependants of permanent residents, and students and persons of religious occupations whose maintenance is assured. The admission of Jewish settlers has always been strictly regulated by the Government in accordance with what it regards as the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and but for the rigorous application of this rule—varied occasionally by the temporary suspension of all immigration—the Jewish population in Palestine would undoubtedly have been very much larger. Since 1933 refugees from Nazi Germany and from other Nazi-dominated countries have formed a substantial proportion of the new settlers, amounting to over 80,000.

The land upon which the Jewish national home is established has all had to be acquired by purchase, as the article of the mandate prescribing that the administration of Palestine 'shall encourage . . . close settlement of Jews on the land, including

state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes,' has received very niggardly application. At the end of 1942 the total area in Jewish possession was 1,500,000 dunams (1 dunam equals $\frac{1}{4}$ acre), of which 626,000 dunams, that is about forty per cent, belongs to the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemeth le-Israel*), which was founded by the Zionist Organization in 1901 to acquire land in Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people. There is also an area of 162,000 dunams of state land leased to Jews. The primary purpose to which the land is devoted is the establishment of agricultural settlements and the creation of a Jewish peasantry. There are now 260 agricultural settlements or villages, of which 125 are on land of the Jewish National Fund, and the latter have been established mainly by the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*)—these two funds forming the principal money-collecting agencies of the Zionist Organization. One of the largest single acquisitions of land was in the Huleh valley, where the Palestine Land Development Company, in 1934, bought 57,000 dunams, of which 15,000, after being drained at the expense of the company, were to be sat aside gratuitously for local Arab fellahs. It is noteworthy that over sixty settlements have come into existence since the beginning of the Arab disorders in April 1936 (including twenty-five since the beginning of the war).

The rural settlements, which contain over a fourth of the total population in Palestine, are distributed throughout all parts of the country, the majority being situated in the Vale of Jezreel (stretching almost continuously from Haifa to near Beisan) and in the Maritime Plain. The two main types of settlements are the small holder's settlement (*Moshav Ovdim*), in which the individual settler farms his own holding (though there is a great deal of co-operative purchasing and marketing), and the *Kvutzah*, or co-operative group, in which the land is farmed by the group as a whole. They have one feature in common—the exclusion of hired labour, for, unlike the system

prevailing in the early settlements, all work must be done by the settler and his family. The kinds of farming practised are cereal cultivation, fruit and vegetable growing, and dairy farming, all of which are conducted on the most advanced scientific principles and with the practical advice provided through agricultural experiment stations. The most extensive developments are those that have taken place in the growing of citrus fruit. Between the two wars the area under orange cultivation increased from 30,000 to 300,000 dunams, of which about 160,000 belong to Jewish settlers, who also introduced the cultivation of grape-fruit and lemons. The amount exported to overseas countries in the 1938-9 season was a total of 13,000,000 cases (forming nearly eighty per cent of the country's export), apart from which a large quantity was sold in Palestine and neighbouring countries. About two-thirds of the annual crop was formerly received by Great Britain, but owing to the difficulties created by the war the amount grown and exported has fallen by one-half.

In all other branches of agriculture, however, there has been a notable increase of production in recent years. Thus, between 1937 and 1941, Jewish vegetable production increased from 11,500 tons to 26,800 tons, eggs from 39,457,000 to 58,792,000, and milk from 33,390,000 litres to 41,364,000 litres. The total sales of agricultural and dairy produce by the Jewish Co-operative Society 'Tnuvah' rose from £210,000 in 1933-4 to £855,000 in 1940. The Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association, which was established by the Jewish Agency in 1935, granted loans in 1940 to the extent of £107,000 for the extension and diversification of farms, and of £24,000 for building purposes in villages. From the time of its formation until 1940 the P.A.S.A. granted £416,000 in loans to 24 small-holders' settlements, 35 communal settlements, and 130 individual settlers. Despite the war twenty-five new Jewish agricultural settlements have been created, and old-established ones have been extended. New cultures have been introduced,

such as soya beans, ground nuts, Australian and Moroccan soft wheat, and the irrigated area devoted to mixed farming has been considerably enlarged. The Imperial and Allied forces stationed in or based on Palestine have been supplied with a great deal of their food requirements from the soil of Palestine.

The Jewish colonization of Palestine is not confined to immigration and agricultural settlement, but embraces all branches of social, economic, and intellectual activity. New residential quarters, with every modern amenity, have been built in the suburbs of Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tiberias; the Jewish town of Tel Aviv, which had only 2,000 inhabitants in 1914, now boasts of more than 180,000; and another flourishing town on the coast, due solely to Jewish enterprise, is Nathanyah. Owing to the comparatively large immigration in the years just before the war, a vigorous impetus was given to the building industry both in town and country. From 1935 to 1939 over £16,000,000 of Jewish capital was invested in the construction of houses, shops, factories, and other property, and at one time over 12,000 Jewish workers were employed in the building industry and allied trades.

It is in the field of manufacturing industry, however, that Jews have wrought such a remarkable transformation in the economic structure of the country. Factories, mills, and workshops have multiplied enormously, accompanied by a notable increase in the diversity of their products, which has not always been dependent either upon local demand or upon the raw materials being locally available. The principal categories of commodities are foodstuffs, building materials (especially bricks and cement), leather, printing and paper products, chemicals, and electricity. Among the industries introduced in recent years are automobile bodies, cinema films, iron safes, perambulators, refrigerators, precision instruments, armoured cars, water-sprinklers, lenses for binoculars, zincography, pharmaceutical products, and diamond polishing. There are altogether over 6,000 Jewish industrial establish-

ments, including factories and workshops, and machine production has reached so high a level of development that a large number of new factories have equipped themselves with locally produced machines.

An impetus has been given to Jewish industry by conditions resulting from the war, such as the cessation of competition from imports from those countries that had previously been the main source of supply of industrial goods, the restrictions on imports and the difficulties of shipping, and the material requirements of the military authorities. Jewish manufacturers had already carried out orders for the British Army to the value of £1,000,000 by the end of 1940, and for £4,000,000 in 1941, while in 1942 the total value amounted to £10,000,000. Since the beginning of the war over 300 new factories were built, largely by refugees from Germany and other Nazi-oppressed countries, who brought with them their technical experience and knowledge of patent processes, and in many cases also their own mechanical equipment. The importance and diversity of Jewish industrial concerns are illustrated by the fact that there are 250 in the metal trade: 20 are foundries, 20 iron construction works, 14 produce iron bars, and 100 are machine-tool and mechanical workshops. The electrical industry comprises 30 firms, which produce various electrical parts and fixtures. There are 130 woodworking factories, 90 textile works, and 12 cement and brick works. There are three spinning mills working night and day to manufacture cotton drill for military uniforms, and the leather industry turns out 135,000 pairs of footwear a month, largely for the armed forces. Particular importance at the present time attaches to the Clauson steel smelting works in Haifa, the Naaman factory for burnt bricks in Haifa, and the Kishon wool spinning works at Ramat Gan. In many cases there has been a rapid transition from peacetime to war production: for example, a factory that formerly produced bath tubs is now making steel helmets for the forces. It is obviously of great

value to the military command to have such industrial machinery at its disposal in so convenient a position, and also to have available reserves of highly skilled labour for such special jobs as the repair of a destroyer at Haifa or for work on optical and other precision instruments for the Army. Moreover, there is a large food industry which furnishes all kinds of supplies for the troops, and also a pharmaceutical industry which has grown tremendously since the beginning of the war. The development of diamond polishing, which was introduced as a direct consequence of Nazi persecution, is likewise noteworthy. Several works devoted to this trade have been established during the last few years at Tel Aviv, Nathanya, and Petah Tikvah, over 400 workers are engaged in it, and the industry is expanding continuously. Another notable development is the construction of boats out of reinforced concrete at Tel Aviv: the first boats built in this way have proved to be seaworthy, and an effort is being made to expand production on proper lines.

Industrial progress has been greatly furthered by the electrification scheme created in 1923 by the late Pinhas Rutenberg by harnessing the waters of the Jordan and the Yarmuk. The system is operated by the Palestine Electric Corporation, which sold 94,000,000 kilowatts in 1940 as compared with 84,000,000 in 1939. Another industry of far-reaching importance is the extraction of the mineral deposits of the Dead Sea, originally conceived years before the first great war by Mr. M. Novomeysky, and conducted by Palestine Potash Limited. There are two main plants, one at the northern and the other at the southern end of the lake, and they are capable of producing over 100,000 tons of potash per annum and other salts (bromine, magnesium chloride, and carnallite) in proportion. The company, which employs nearly 2,000 workers, has placed its entire output at the disposal of the British Ministry of Supply.

The promotion of commerce is facilitated by the credits supplied by the Anglo-Palestine Bank and the Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions, as well as by a number of other

Jewish and non-Jewish financial institutions. In conjunction with the Palestine Manufacturers' Association and the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Jewish Agency in 1938 founded the Foreign Trade Institute for the furtherance of the export trade. This institute maintains connections with various countries, especially those of the Near East, South Africa, India, New Zealand, and the United States, and has arranged exhibitions of Palestinian products in important centres. The opening of the Haifa harbour in October 1933 was largely necessitated by the increased trade and traffic resulting from the Jewish resettlement. Concrete evidence of the increased trade was supplied by the large industrial exhibitions formerly held at Tel Aviv and also by the Palestine Exhibition held in Cairo in August 1941. A notable development before the war was the construction of a jetty and lighter-port at Tel Aviv, which was rendered necessary by the closing of the Jaffa harbour by the Arab general strike in 1936. The Tel Aviv port is an achievement due exclusively to Jewish enterprise, capital, and labour.

In the domain of social welfare and cultural work there has also been much progress due to Jewish activity. The primitive hygienic conditions of former times have been swept away by the Hadassah Medical Organization (the creation of American women Zionists), which conducts a complete medical service, comprising hospitals and clinics, and looks after school-children and immigrants with equal efficiency. A network of agricultural training centres and farms, domestic science schools, and infant welfare centres—all on lines adapted to the special needs of the country—are maintained by the Women's International Zionist Organization. The Kupath Holim (Sick Benefit Fund) of the General Federation of Jewish Labour, which has over 100,000 members and an annual income of £300,000, operates in 170 centres and employs over 1,000 persons: its hospitals have a daily total of 700 patients, and its clinics and dispensaries are visited by over 10,000 patients daily.

All branches of education, from the kindergarten to the

University, are zealously fostered. The number of Jewish pupils in the elementary and secondary schools in the year 1939-40 was 83,478, of whom close on seventy per cent attended the schools of the Vaad Leumi, twenty-nine per cent other Jewish schools, and one per cent non-Jewish schools. The annual expenditure of those schools amounted to £P 580,000. Technical training of an advanced character is provided at the Haifa Technical Institute, which consists of the College of Technology, the Technical High School, and the Nautical School. The college laboratories have rendered valuable services to war requirements, particularly in connection with soil analysis, industrial chemistry, the testing of building materials, and hydraulics. The crowning feature of Jewish education is the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, inaugurated in 1925 by the late Earl Balfour, which comprises not only the principal departments of an academic establishment, but also Institutes of Jewish Studies and Oriental Studies, as well as a library containing over 400,000 volumes. The University, which has a staff of 135 and 650 students (reduced from 1,200 since the war), has recently been enlarged by the addition of a number of new buildings, namely, the Rosenbloom Building (which accommodates the Faculty of Humanities), the Archaeological Museum, the Agricultural Experimental Station at Rehoboth, a gymnasium, and an annexe to the library. In all these institutions Hebrew is the vehicle of instruction, as it is the medium of general intercourse in Jewish life. Indeed, the development of the ancient tongue and its adaptation to meet all the requirements of modern thought and scientific progress is not the least among the marvels of the Jewish national revival.

In the realm of scientific knowledge and technical developments Palestine is unique in the Middle East, and her scientific contributions to the Allied war effort are of no mean order. The University arranged special courses on tropical and subtropical diseases for the medical officers of the British and Australian Forces, and its laboratories have produced an anti-

typhus vaccine which has been hailed as a development of major military importance, and made Palestine and the Near East independent of European supplies. Its Meteorological Laboratory has supplied the military authorities with air data for weather reports covering the entire area from the Caucasus to Lower Egypt. The Daniel Sieff Research Institute, which was founded at Rehoboth before the war by Dr. Weizmann to lay the scientific foundations of an organic chemical industry in Palestine, is producing acetone and butyl alcohol by fermentation, and has established a pharmaceutical factory for the production of certain badly needed drugs, such as synthetic anti-malaria and hypnotics.

The Jewish National Home has thus become the principal medical and scientific centre in the whole of the Near and Middle East, but its intellectual activities are, in truth, many-sided, representing all phases of the national life of a people that has been born anew on its ancient soil. The muses are also cultivated with zest. Hebrew drama and opera are regular features of social life, as are also concerts, which are sometimes held in an open-air theatre, and occasionally graced by the visit of a famous musician; and there is an array of artists, painters, and sculptors who are giving expression to the inspiration derived from the new Judaea and are developing a Jewish art. The symphony orchestra organized by Bronislaw Huberman has earned the encomiums of Toscanini, who has conducted it, and its fame has spread throughout the world. In no sphere of intellectual labour is there such manifold creative activity as in that of literature, where all sorts of writers—novelists and poets, philosophers, historians, and essayists—are giving birth to works of imagination, criticism, and scholarship. Palestine has become the most important centre for the production of Hebrew literature at the present day, and for its size it probably contains more authors and journalists than any other national community on earth. The national renascence is also reflected in a plethora of periodicals and newspapers,

representing all branches of cultural and economic activity and all shades of thought.

The benefit of all these varied developments has by no means been confined to the Jewish community in Palestine: they have also proved of the utmost advantage to the Arabs and the British Administration, and, indeed, to many other countries, both near and far. They represent but an earnest of much greater achievements to be attained when the world returns to a state of peace, and the Jewish people will be able to devote itself anew with redoubled energies to the further, unrestricted development of its national home.

HALUTZIUTH

By Anita Engle

To die for one's country—that may be heroism. But to live, and to toil and to suffer; to fever and to sacrifice for one's country—that is Halutziuth.

It is in this spirit that successive generations of Jewish youth, with joy in their hearts, left the amenities of the lands of their birth to create out of the rocks and the deserts and the swamps of Palestine a homeland for the Jewish people.

To each Jewish community in the Diaspora the call of national redemption came, and the youth sprang forth. Some sooner, some later, as the initial period of thought and dreams, of talk and propaganda matured into action. From Russia, from central and eastern Europe, from Germany, and now, in the last ten years, from America and the British Empire they have come, each one bringing as his gift to the new-born nation the characteristics and the qualities of the country in which he was born.

In every generation there were those who dreamt of redemption for a persecuted and a homeless people. But so atrophied had grown the national will through long dispersion, so fearful the people of assuming responsibility, that the dreams remained vague dreams of hopeless longing.

Then in the late eighties there arose the few who felt that Zionism was a practical thing, not merely to be dreamed about, or preached for others. It was a personal matter. If they did not start, who would? If not immediately, then when?

One's imagination is staggered at the daring of the first young men and women who just over half a century ago left homes and careers in Russia to come to Palestine. There were only a few dozen of them, and they hardly knew what Palestine, then a remote, neglected Asiatic province of the vast Ottoman Empire, was like. They had no adequate means of their own.

They knew nothing about agriculture or colonization. They knew not one of the languages spoken in Palestine. They knew but one thing: that some extraordinary deed, some unheard-of adventure and self-sacrifice was called for, if the Jewish people was to survive and its future as a people be assured to-day.

With little but romantic mysticism with which to face the tyrannies of a hostile government and the wastes of a neglected country, those early dozens could do no more than build a path for those who followed in their steps.

In the meantime, in Russia, the spirit fermented, and formed, and drew towards maturity. A new type of pioneer was being born.

The first attempt at a Russian revolution had broken down, and many of the young people who had fought in the 1905 fiasco had witnessed the pogroms with which it was temporarily diverted. The Jewish self-defence units which they helped to organize, the first in the history of the Diaspora, had done little to prevent the shedding of Jewish blood and the intensified repressive measures which followed. They could not believe, as most of their friends believed, that a change in the system of government would change the status of the Jews. They saw the Jewish problem as a world-wide one, one which could not be solved without the rehabilitation of the Jewish nation in Palestine as a pre-eminently agricultural people, drawing their energies from health-giving contact with the soil.

The impulse to go to Palestine was stimulated by a call issued in the name of the youth of Palestine by Joseph Vitkin, a village school teacher in Galilee. Vitkin called upon the young people of the Diaspora to come and work on the land and train themselves to become the peasant farmers of the re-born Jewish nation. They would gain no reward for themselves but the martyrdom of the unknown soldier; but they would have then rendered a national service of the first magnitude.

and sacrifice independence to the dubious security of Arab protection.

They regarded with cynicism and mockery the desire of the newcomers to root themselves by every form of labour into the soil of their homeland. To them such an idea was dangerously revolutionary. Besides, it was sheer extravagance, for who would employ an office clerk to work with spade and mattock when one would get an Arab peasant to do it much more expertly at a fraction of the wage?

From colony to colony the young people trudged, pleading for a week's work, even a day's work. There were girls among the ranks of these would-be labourers as well, for they insisted on being equal partners in the privations and the toil which went to building up a homeland.

'Here we live. Here we die. There is no other place for us.' That was the rhythm that beat through their days. Each one knew there could be no surrender, no turning back. There was no other way out. For the Jew, there was no other place to go. Out of the barren, neglected, hostile land they had to hew their future, or else for them there would be no future. Out of the material available they had to wrest for themselves a living; they had to build a decent society in which to bear their children; they had to create a haven and a citadel for their people. That is the secret of their strength and of the magnitude of their achievements. For they did succeed.

And while they strove to build for themselves, on the firmest foundations and the best principles they were capable of, unknowingly they were creating at the same time a form of living so permanent and fine that it stands now as a model for post-war society, when the peoples of all nations will be facing reconstruction and regeneration.

For those bleak hillsides, the barren plains and malarial swamps on which they laboured, become the laboratories for one of the most remarkable social experiments modern civilization has witnessed. From those backgrounds emerged the collec-

tive farm settlements of Palestine; practical workers' communities which embody the essence of communalism, untainted by political pressure, and entirely free from personal compulsion.

In the face of seemingly unsurmountable difficulties, they grouped together, tiny spots of civilization in the desolate stretches which were Palestine at the beginning of the century. With their body-breaking task of reclaiming a national homeland from a barren, impoverished country, they combined the equally daring experiment of blazing a trail for a new social existence; a workers' world, in which every one worked according to his ability and shared according to his need.

When the pioneers began, they had no set idea to work from. The present system of collective living, the *kvutzah*, grew from their practical needs, the result of trial and error, and is still in a state of development and readjustment, as every day, almost, some new group of pioneers sets up a new *kvutzah* under new circumstances.

The third generation is already growing up in the communal settlements. Living in their homeland, among their own people, they are a race of Jews who have never experienced anti-Semitism. In appearance and mentality they are as far removed from the Jews of central and eastern Europe—and of the Diaspora generally—as if they lived in different centuries.

I was present at the settlement of Kfar Giladi, in Upper Galilee, one Friday night when the 200 comrades were celebrating the birth of a grandson. The first grandson to be born in the *kvutzah*. The first boy in Palestine to begin life in the same *kvutzah* in which his father had grown up, and which his grandfather had helped to found.

The grandparents were Eliezer and Haya Kroll, comrades of those Shomerim (settlement guards) who, after a heroic fight to protect other people's land in Palestine in those early uncertain years, had finally settled down at Kfar Giladi to found a home for themselves and their children.

And so it was a greater rejoicing that flamed in the 200

comrades than just the fact of the birth of a grandson. It was the rejoicing of a people upon the realization of an ideal—an ideal which, in the turmoil of the first beginnings of twenty-five years before, the year Ahi-Am, the child's father, was born, was an unformulated, still unbelievable, goal. A formless dream of bringing up families together in a communal settlement. A workers' world in which each man and woman shared alike in labour and profit, and the children became the proud responsibility of the community, not of the parents alone.

Round and round went the *hora* dancers, louder came the chanting, the stamping of hobnailed boots. The note of exultation throbbed and beat against the wooden walls and rafters of the dining-room as though it no longer came from human throats. The dancers themselves were hardly aware that the chanting came from them. It was rather an outpouring of their souls, and just when it seemed to have reached its pitch and must certainly fade and die away, it gathered fresh momentum and throbbed more wildly and exultantly.

How could they stop their exultant chant? Had they not a quarter of a century behind them to prove the success of their ideal of a *kvutzah*, worked out through trial and error on the soil, with nothing but their own will for a new and better social order to keep them on the track? Should they not rejoice that their children had been able to grow up under the influence of that ideal and find it right? That parents and children could remain united, through generations, in the same ideal of labour? What of the difficulties of to-morrow? They were nothing. The important thing was to know that the path was the right one. Safe in that knowledge, the difficulties could be overcome.

'Ho nivneh ha-Galil! Ho nivneh ha-Galil!' (Let us rebuild Galilee.) Tirelessly, endlessly, the chant—and suddenly two elderly women had joined hands, and, pulling tall, dignified Eliezer and plump, smiling Haya Kroll with them, were in the centre of the circling dancers. The women were Kayla

Giladi and Toba Portugali, widows of the two leaders of the Shomerim who died young, with their visions still unrealized. The two widows had never left Kfar Giladi, but had stayed on with their children, carrying out, by physical labour and with moral strength, the ideals their young husbands had given their lives for.

With one accord the other dancers stopped, but their feet and hands beat out the rhythm as the four joined hands and danced together. Visions of the drama lived by these four comrades rose up, and brought tears to the eyes of many. They had participated in the most heroic years of the new Palestine. They had been the first Shomerim, who, thirty years before, struggled against the early Jewish settlers and the Arabs alike, to prove that Jews must defend themselves and not employ others to defend them.

It was they, the 'Moscoby,' as they came to be called among the Arabs, who taught the countryside its first lesson in the physical courage of the Jews. On one occasion a Shomer 'captain' was asked by a bedouin sheikh who was paying him a visit: 'Who are you?' 'We are Jews.' 'No, we know the Jews. You are different.' 'You err. We are the same Jews as those you know.' The sheikh remained unconvinced. He rose, pointed a finger at his host, and proclaimed solemnly: 'Since you do not know who you are, I shall tell you. In olden times there was a tribe here known as the Beni Israel. You are their posterity!'

Every six or twelve months, the Shomer would throw his belongings into a wagon and, with his wife and children sitting on top, would move on to another part of the country to protect another Jewish holding. Without them, the first great tracts of land bought with Zionist money would have reverted to Turkey again, for there were few people than to go on the land, and, according to Ottoman law, land bought, but untenanted for three years, reverted to the State. So the Shomerim worked the land until it was settled by immigrants.

It was a thankless, dangerous task for the men, but an exciting and a grand one. But what of the wives, who lived in Arab huts for six months, then in a draughty barn, partitioned off from the horses, for another six, then again moved on to still farther and more dangerous territory? They too had come to Palestine with ambitions for a new social order, one of equality and independence for the women, not the traditional enslavement. It was this life they had tried to escape from when they left Russia at the beginning of the century.

There was a pensive look in Haya's eyes. She was remembering how the birth pangs had begun as the wagon jerked wildly over the rough road to Hedera. After an interminable time they arrived, and when the son was born in the little shack which was to be their home for the next year, the comrades had celebrated for three days. He was the first child born among the Shomerim, and great was the rejoicing, because they would be able to bring him up according to their new social order. At that time they themselves had not enough bread. But they were going to lay the foundations of a more normal, better life than they had lived in the Diaspora. By what means they did not yet know. They only knew there was a new life to be created and that they must built it.

As soon as Haya could rise from her bed, and sooner, she began again the herculean task, in those primitive conditions, of caring for the child and for her husband. But those months and years of hardship had meant something. If not for her, then for the next generation of women. And to those with an ideal, it is not important that they themselves do not participate to the full in the realization of their dreams. Enough that her labour had borne fruit, and the women of to-day living in a *kvutzah* could benefit.

Enough the knowledge that her grandson had been born in the clean, scientifically equipped Workers' Sick Fund Hospital at Afuleh, that, like every woman in a *kvutzah*, her grandson's mother would have six weeks' freedom from work after her

confinement. A smoothly running car would bring her from hospital with the minimum of discomfort, and, once in the *kvutzah*, she and the baby would receive such care as only a wealthy woman with several servants could procure elsewhere. Their clothing and diet would be arranged by people specially trained for the purpose; the baby cared for by the *kvutzah* nurse, and, when a week or two old, snugly lodged in the baby home with the other babies.

This new, independent woman of the *kvutzah* was something born of the dreams of Haya and Kayla and Toba as they struggled along beside their husbands in those tortuous early years.

In the midst of the vast ring of swaying *Halutzim*, their arms locked about each others shoulders, they danced—slim Toba, soft brown eyes shining; tall, angular Kayla; bearded, dignified Eliezer; and plump Haya. Against the wooden walls and rafters of the dining-room, and out into the night, almost to the mountains of Galilee, the chant beat and throbbed. ‘Ho nivneh ha-Galil! Ho nivneh ha-Galil!’ To the *Halutzim*, the beating of the feet, the hard, exultant chant were a fearless challenge to the future. To the four dancing in the centre, their arms entwined, their heads together, it was a paean of triumph.

‘It was not easy to get any of those pioneers to talk about themselves, but late one afternoon I found Kayla Giladi alone in the sewing-room and, sitting down beside her, I persuaded her to tell me about the early days.

Slowly, matter-of-factly, she talked as she sat unripping a coat that was to be cut down for one of the children of the *kvutzah*. She had been seventeen and her sister Ziporah sixteen when they came from Russia at the beginning of the century. They had joined the group of *Shomerim*, and had married two of the young leaders.

‘It never occurred to any of us when we married that we should expect a house to ourselves, or even a room. We felt

happy when we had the same roof over our heads for more than four months at a time, and that our husbands came back each morning safe from the night's watch.'

When the children were born, they thrived or died according to the dictates of their natures, for medicines and medical assistance were unknown luxuries then. When they moved to a new place, a primitive barn would be the only building standing, and they all, wives and children and all, had to sleep in the same quarters as the live-stock and chickens.

'In the mornings,' Kayla said, 'we used to have to shoo the chickens off the faces of our sleeping children.'

When they finally built their own settlement, it was such a labour of love that at the end of each day they knew exactly how many bricks had been laid. Three times their pathetic beginnings of a home were burned down by Arab brigands, and three times the settlers returned to start again from the ashes. 'We couldn't stay away,' Kayla said. 'Our friends begged us to remain with them in the quieter, more settled parts of the country, but it was like a hunger and a thirst until we could get back to Kfar Giladi again.' And when Kayla returned the third time it was without her young husband. Worn out with hard work and strain, he had died. Kayla had not even the satisfaction of being by his bedside when he died.

'What was the greatest hardship you ever suffered?' I asked her. She thought for a moment, her eyes turned to the blue-sloped mountains of Galilee, deepening against the pale twilight sky. I waited for her answer, my mind running over all the possibilities. . . .

'I never really suffered any hardships,' she said at last, quite simply. 'It's true that our bodies were often in discomfort. But our spirits were free and happy, for we were doing what we wanted to do and knew to be right.'

As Vitkin, the school teacher from Galilee, warned them before they came, there are no monuments in Palestine for

those stalwarts, the early pioneers. But they do not need monuments. Their monuments are the eucalyptus trees which whisper and murmur along the highways—telling of the young lives that were sacrificed before the pestilent swamps could be turned into the firm soil in which they now have root. The thriving settlements from the Syrian border down to the semi-tropical shores of Lake Galilee and across to the sands of the Negeb, the roads hewn through the barren rock and desert wilderness, bringing life and security to the farthestmost outposts—of such as these are their true monuments, for they proclaim the factors which motivated their lives, and often-times mark the very spot where their young builders had fallen.

While it is true that they do not want recognition and praise, it is, nevertheless, very sweet indeed for the pioneers to know that recognition need not come only to the fallen hero. I shall never forget the occasion I visited one particular group of young people in Palestine. They were boys and girls, really, for the oldest was twenty-two and the youngest seventeen. But on those young shoulders rested the responsibility of bringing life and civilization to some desolate part of Palestine.

They were among the thousands of young people the Youth Aliyah had brought to Palestine out of hell. This group received its agricultural training at Meir Shfeyah, a training school near Haifa, which is the particular charge of American Hadassah.

When some of these youths had made up their minds to unite in forming a settlement, they decided to call their settlement 'Hadass,' in gratitude to those American women who had given them a chance to live and to work, as the youth of other nations.

Unfortunately, there are always more *Halutzim* waiting to settle on land than there is land for them. Sometimes groups have to wait for as long as three to five years before the Jewish National Fund can provide them with land for settlement.

The embryo *kvutza* Hadass was only just formed, so they knew that they had a long wait ahead of them. They had their livelihood to earn in the meantime, and money to save up for

the time when they eventually got their own land. Like all such groups, they began to look for jobs as hired labourers. The wages would be pooled, and the group would live a communal life, just as if they were already in a *kvutzah*.

Times were hard in Palestine during the first year of the war, and it was no easy matter to find sufficient work to keep forty healthy young people. They had been on a special training course at Dagania, and the settlers there begged them to stay on until times got better.

But that is not the type of reasoning that appeals to youth. They did not want to wait another moment before starting out on their own. They decided that Hedera was a likely place to find work, and they went there.

One or two had friends who gave them a little money; a little more was loaned them by the Communal Settlements Kitchen Fund; the Keren Hayesod provided another small loan. Altogether their entire capital amounted to the microscopic sum of £150.

The Jewish Agency provided the tents in which they slept, and the eating and social room which they shared with another embryo *kvutzah*. Outside of that, they had nothing. Nothing, that is, but youth and courage and determination.

In those difficult times two years ago before Palestine was absorbed into the war effort, only fifteen or twenty of the young people could get work. One can imagine how much that amounted to, when it had to be spread out over forty people. No need to guess how many times a week those young people went hungry.

But that was not the worst aspect of it. Unless they earned enough money from which to save, they could never grow their own food. Nor could they buy the machinery and stock to start the nucleus of their future settlement, and so provide work for those of their number who were unable to find employment in the neighbourhood.

One day the secretary of Hadass, aged nineteen, received a

letter stating that Hadassah had a surprise for them. Would they be ready to receive a delegation from the Palestine office on a certain date?

I was one of those who went along. I had never seen a *kvutzah* in embryo before. All the way to Hedera, I was wondering what those pioneers of our new Palestine would look like; particularly as I knew that most of them had been persecuted children in Germany only three and four years before.

As they came running out to greet us, they looked more like high-school children than pioneers. They were dressed in shorts and open-necked blouses. One of the girls still wore her hair in two braids down her back.

They took us into the shack which served as the communal centre. They seated themselves on the hard benches set ready round the table, and they waited for their surprise.

It was a cheque for \$1,000!

Their eyes were round with wonder and joy as they sat there, listening to the motherly women who rose to speak to them on presentation of the cheque. They looked almost afraid to breathe lest they awake and find it all a dream.

The money would give them a new lease of life. But, at the moment, I think that the cheque was only a piece of paper to them. What was so wonderful was the realization that there actually were people outside of Palestine who were concerned about their welfare.

Theoretically, every one who works in Palestine knows that he does not build for himself, but for all Jewry. But there are times when those in Palestine feel as if they were fighting the battle alone. Fighting for a people who do not know about them; or if they know, do not care.

But now those young people knew; and how glorious was that knowledge, that all their work, and all the hardships they were going through, were not in vain!

The movement of Hehalutz (The Pioneer), from whose

ranks came the great stream of trained and resolute pioneers who have changed the face of Palestine in two short decades, was born in the latter years of the first great war. It sprang into being simultaneously and spontaneously in almost every part of the Jewish world.

The Balfour Declaration proclaimed in 1917 loosed the pent-up flood which had begun to mount in the war-weary and perplexed youth of the Diaspora. The Balfour Declaration gave them something concrete on which to base their longings for the upbuilding of a new form of society.

There were youths in the German trenches as well as in the Russian trenches on the other side, across no man's land, in the British camps of Gallipoli, and in the Austrian look-outs high up in the mountains who were dreaming of the day when they would be allowed to join the ranks of the peaceful army of the pioneer settlers on Palestinian soil. In the dirt and narrowness of the dug-outs, by the light of flickering candles, they clung to their Hebrew readers, eager to acquire the elements of their future language.

When the news of the armistice was announced, the first thought that flashed through the minds of many Jewish youths in Germany was: German capitulation means the Balfour Declaration realized, and immigration to Palestine made possible!

But not soon, and not easily, did the surging tide forge its way to Eretz Israel. There is a nightmare quality about their fantastic struggles to get to Palestine. In a little book issued on the tenth anniversary of the Hehalutz movement, there is a prose poem entitled *In Memoriam* which depicts this grim saga:

Let Israel remember
Its sons and daughters,
Drowned in the waters of the Black Sea, rowing their boats to the
shores of their homeland;
Sunk, bullet-ridden, in the waters of the Dniester as they crossed
Rumanian borders;

Dead, their bones scattered in the crevices on their way through the mountains of Caucasia;
Murdered by brigand-soldiery as they passed through battle-lines;
Burned in railroad cars as they passed through paths of confusion;
Fallen, protecting the life and honour of Israel in the lands of their adoption;
Killed while preparing for a life of pioneering, by ignorant peasant neighbours, instigated by the enemies of Israel;
Lost in Siberian exile, martyrs to the cause of Halutzim;
Choosing death at the borders and shores of their homeland when its gates were closed to them.

It was not until 1921 that this third type of pioneer immigration, the resolute, trained young Halutzim, began to enter in a steady stream.

As was the case with the previous pioneers, most of them left middle-class homes; they had to forget habits, manners, traditions, and comforts, in order to be able to join the ranks of the Palestinian workers.

They could not simply follow the track beaten by the early pioneers. Agriculture could not absorb them all within a short period, and with the collection funds available, so they had to turn elsewhere. Thus they became road builders and factory hands; they turned truck drivers and telegraph linemen; they were house builders and motor mechanics; they tried stone-quarrying in the mountains. And wherever they came new life sprang up, and Palestine at last began to stir from its centuries-long sleep. 'Halutz' became a word of magic portent in the currency of world language.

It is related that when Winston Churchill, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Palestine in 1921, the first question he asked upon his arrival was whether there were in the district any of those strange creatures called Halutzim whom he had heard about in Westminster. He was promptly led to a camp of Jewish workers, at that moment engaged in the construction of the Lud-Sarafand railway, and shown the rare and seemingly unique species he was referring to.

He might well have thought: 'Why, those are only young people working. What is so wonderful about that? Young people work everywhere.'

Just looking at them, who could see that they were the vanguard of a reviving nation? Just to look at them, how could one know of the song that surged in their hearts, the power that pounded through their veins and gave mighty impact to the blows of their hammer—song and power born of the knowledge that with each rock they shattered they loosed another fetter that bound the Jewish people!

That the precarious structure built up between 1907 and 1914 could withstand the malice and medieval persecution of the dying Turkish regime, and the hardships of warfare in the country itself, is proof of the soundness of the foundations laid by the early pioneers.

Survival was the most that could be hoped from those circumstances; and it was not until 1921, after eight years of stagnation and idleness in the land, that a colonization movement again sprang up within the country. This was the period which began the redemption of the Emek (Valley of) Jezreel, fertile and prosperous during Bible days, but a morass of pestilential swamps in 1921. It seemed like madness when the precariously gathered resources of the Jewish National Fund went to buying this large tract of useless land.

One of the founders of the colony of Nahalal relates how he and his comrades walked out from Haifa to the Emek, to look at it, shortly after the tract became Jewish property.

'We walk about the plain lusting for labour, for colonization,' he wrote. 'We go over the ground in all seriousness, and for the first time we see that the soil here is good.'

They came again. They explored the country, the swamps, the streams. They talked to the impoverished Arab families scattered about at sparse intervals. Whenever their hopes were raised, the ever-lurking dread of malaria burdened their

spirits. They see ruins, and ask an old man what they are. Ruins of a village, a German village, which was there when he was a child, he told them.

'And where are the people now?'

'Dead.'

'And has no one settled here since then?'

'There was a second settlement—an Arab village.'

'Where is it now?'

'It too was ruined.'

'And what became of the people?'

'They died. They all died,' he replied, and turned to go.

'And why in your judgment is it impossible to live here?'

'Because of an evil spirit on one hand and bad water on the other. Whoever drinks the water swells up and dies in three days.' The old man's words sounded like a prophecy of evil upon ourselves. Dead, dead, dead. . . .

The people of both settlements had died. And would the fate of the third settlement, our settlement, be any better? we asked ourselves.

We ascended a high hill. We wanted to view the Emek from a height. Coming up, we trod on ancient stones eroded by rain and covered with green moss. These stones were arranged in irregular fashion, and at first we did not realize what they were. After a moment, however, we realized that we were walking on graves.

We stopped short, and drew a heavy breath. Before us lay an immense cemetery, with hundreds of graves, little and big. We were horror-stricken. Words failed us. Over there, to the west, stretched a wide fertile valley, but our feet trod upon the forgotten graves of the devoted builders of the former settlements. . . .

Death! That was the message wafted on the air about us. On the hill—a cemetery; in the valley—water that causes men to swell, an evil spirit that killed off two settlements. Down

below, the swamps lay black, open, and cruel, crowned with many trees, like a wreath of flowers on a tombstone.

'Is not the whole country full of swamps?' we asked ourselves. 'Who are we that we should pick and choose? To whom shall we leave the swamps?' The voice of the youngest of us three broke into the stillness.

'Don't we want life?' he asked.

'We must occupy the land,' decreed the second. 'Eretz Israel, with its wastes and its swamps, is ours; and we must settle upon it. We must make ourselves and the land healthy.'

And so, in spite of the advice of experts and doctors, they cast their tents upon the plain overlooking the swamps, and there was formed the settlement of Nahalal, a fine thriving colony to-day: Those swamps were so thoroughly drained that Nahalal became one of the healthiest spots in the Emek. And as for the Emek to-day—that pestilential territory that was shunned by all because of the malarial swamps that brought death and destruction in their wake—you could walk for a day and see nothing but a green and fruitful expanse of corn, orange groves, and meadows. Dotted everywhere are pleasant farms showing white houses and red roofs, each one surrounded by green trees, palms, and tropical plants.

The need to create mounted, growing with each boat-load of Halutzim that arrived from abroad, trained, conscious, lusting to try their powers. Area after area was conquered; more swamps drained; more roads built. New fields of labour were opened. Wherever was felt to be the requirement of a healthy economy, whatever gave balance to a growing nation, there a new endeavour was launched.

In that spirit was laid the foundation of Jewish seamanship, which to-day has made possible the contribution of hundreds and hundreds of hardy Palestinian sailors to Britain's wartime Navy and merchant service.

I spent a week on a Jewish freighter plying, in 1937, between Haifa and Mersina, Turkey. It was thrilling to witness, so close to the beginning, just how the Jews of Palestine were entering on their second era as a seafaring people. To know that, once again, a Jewish flag could be seen flying in foreign ports, and Jewish vessels, manned by Jewish seamen, again rubbed sides with the vessels of many nations in the neighbouring harbours of Syria and Egypt and Turkey.

With the exception of the three Sudanese firemen, the crew of the *Amal* was Jewish, from captain to winchman, to the sixteen-year-old steward. From America, Germany, France, Turkey, and Palestine these young Jewish seamen had come to sail under the Palestinian flag. Many of them gave up positions of higher standing on ships of other countries; some came from stores and schools and newspapers to help lay the foundation of Jewish shipping.

All made an effort to speak Hebrew, the Palestinians good-naturedly correcting or supplying a missing word when necessary. When the steersman was being relieved at the wheel, he called out the bearings first in English and then in Hebrew.

The crew were all young, ranging in ages from sixteen to thirty. Like brothers they worked together, the experienced helping out the inexperienced with advice and practical assistance. At meal times, occasionally, coffee in the captain's dining-room would be delayed, while one would hear the crew jawing inexperienced 'Sigie,' the cherubic-looking steward, on the best methods of getting accustomed to nautical conditions.

In spite of the hard work and as yet meagre prospects, none of them considered for a moment of changing again to the more adventurous and highly paid jobs on vessels with wider scope. The American-born second mate had graduated from an American training boat, and afterwards worked for several years on a United States transatlantic line. One afternoon he was speaking to me of the limited scope before the experienced Jewish sailor.

'Couldn't you get work on an American ship again?' I asked.

'Oh, yes, any time,' he replied. 'But I wouldn't want to work on a foreign vessel.' So casually, that for a moment I could not realize that this young man speaking with an American drawl was referring to American ships—in fact, any but the tiny handful of boats flying the Palestine flag—as 'foreign.'

Evidently the time had passed when one could discuss the possibility or impossibility of a Jewish marine. No matter how sceptical the rest of the world might be about it, to him and to the other sailors on the *Amal* the Jewish marine was an actual fact. More than a livelihood. It was an ideal to be faithful to, and to undergo hardships for, just as did the Halutzim who drained swamps in the Emek. There were no heroics about it. Just expressions of faith expressed unconsciously.

One of the most beautiful aspects of the rebirth of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people has been the possibility it has created for providing a home for thousands and thousands of Nazi-persecuted children.

Transplanted to a welcoming soil and an environment in which they could shoot up to their fullest stature, this youth immigration has loosed a new Halutzic force into the life stream of the growing community.

As if avenging the destruction of their homes and their childhood, the young pioneers have made their way into every new field of construction in Palestine. They form the fishing villages on the malarial shores of the northern lakes. They figure largely in the new settlements which have sprung up in parts of Palestine that have withstood cultivation for centuries. They have even brought life to areas where no life was before.

I visited a little colony where a group of 120 young men and women had formed a settlement on the mineral-saturated shores of the Dead Sea. It was six months after they had

started, and they were succeeding in cultivating the land against all the predictions of experts.

We went down from Jerusalem one June morning. As we motored down the sheer ascent from Mount Scopus, the mountains became old and grey, and encrusted with bulging veins of rock. The sky was so uniformly and flatly blue, it was not like a sky at all; it was just space. Suddenly the hills ended at a flat, hot plain, and the Dead Sea, a glittering, metallic blue, stretched away to infinity. Along its shores shallow reservoirs of water shading from indigo to aquamarine marked the stages of evaporation as the water gave up its minerals. A little farther on the great engines of the Palestine Potash Company thundered and gave off terrifying heat as they gobbled up load after load of the salt. As we passed, we caught a glimpse like something out of Dante's *Inferno*—blackened, half-naked Arab and Jewish workers toiling within a brown hell:

The settlement we found farther on along the shores of the Dead Sea; twenty-eight khaki tents on a flat mud plain. The earth around was bone-white. The few bristly blades of grass and tough yellow shrubs that grew there only revealed more harshly the strange barrenness of the place. The heat was like a blanket, for the young people lived in the deepest hole in the world. The Dead Sea is some 1,300 feet below sea level.

The average age of the settlers was twenty. Some fifty of them had come as child refugees to Palestine. The remainder was Palestinian-born.

They did not know they were heroic, these fresh-faced youngsters, dressed in sport shirts and khaki shorts, topped with flowing white Arab head-dresses. They were too busy with experiments.

'The ground can grow!' they told us exultantly. 'In nine months we've had fourteen crops of clover.' There was no limit to what they could do, once they had perfected the system of irrigation which washed away the salt and left sweet earth

in its place. For four months they immersed the soil in water diverted from the nearby river Jordan, and during that time the young workers were on duty for sixteen hours a day, wading through mud, reconstructing partitions, watching for breaks. After the salt was eliminated, the soil was enriched with fertilizer and fully restored.

There was nothing that it could not grow. They showed us plots of vegetables, egg plants, carrots, corn, potatoes, tomatoes. Two grape vines were already hung with wax-green clusters of grapes. Hibiscus flamed red in a little garden surrounded by Jerusalem pine and evergreen. And only a few feet away stretched sand-mud flats and dead grey growths. They planned to put some 500 acres of that desert land under cultivation before they were through.

'We have heard that in Idaho they also work with salt land,' one said to an American visitor who was with me. 'It shows there is no such thing as "impossible."'

Experts had said that chickens would not live in that area. They experimented until they found a breed of American Leghorns which thrived on the shores of the Dead Sea. They were going to specialize in medicinal herbs, those which would grow nowhere else in Palestine. They had already procured the seed from Kew Gardens. They were going to plant a wood. The first trees were there already, a token for the future. Near the camp, fish leaped in green-bordered pools. The settlers were engaged in building a reservoir covering five acres, for carp breeding.

To add to the settlement's income, forty of the lads worked in the potash works, and about a dozen in the salt works of Sodom, on the southern shore of the Dead Sea.

Life was very hard for the young people. They worked under a burning sun, in the summer at a temperature of 120 degrees; slept in tents; ate by measure (their budget per person was around sixpence a day); and they had only a tiny hut to assemble in when they were at leisure.

I saw a lad of about eighteen working on the building which was to be their future dining-room and communal centre. Perspiration poured in streams down the face and chest of the boy as he pounded away vigorously, clad only in khaki shorts with white Arab head-dress as protection against the sun. He flashed a smile at us as we stopped to examine the double walls he was building, with thick layers of porous brick in between to normalize the temperature.

I could not help commenting on the terrible difficulties they were facing. 'It's just because it is so difficult that we must be here,' the young man replied.

'House in the Desert' (Beith Haarava) is what they have named the settlement. Before I left they showed me a beautiful tree-covered plan of what the settlement would look like in three years. Here there would be a music room and there the community centre; there was the site of the farm building; here the school buildings and the dormitory for the children.

'Children?' I asked. 'Have you children?'

'Not now, but we will have,' was the practical answer.

But it has not only been the young pioneers with their sheer physical resource who have contributed to the rich and vibrant fabric of modern Palestine. After 1933 older people formed a larger percentage of the immigration to Palestine, and they came not only from Europe, but from America and the British Empire as well. Among them, too, one found Halutziuth, and years of silent preparation in the Galuth for this Aliyah, which had been a secret longing in their hearts since childhood.

Of such was the calibre of Mr. and Mrs. L., who, with their three grown daughters, gave up a comfortable home and well-established business in western Canada, and came to live in Palestine just at the beginning of the riots of 1936. They did not make their home in any of the cities of Palestine, where they could have found amenities approximating those they had left behind. They settled down in the Sharon valley, on their

orange grove, which at that time was without even a bus connection to the nearest village, two miles away.

The three daughters worked in the orange grove until they could learn Hebrew and find their own niche in Palestine. Molly, buxom and enthusiastic, got up at six every morning and worked right along with the men in the *pardess* (grove). At first work with the mattock almost crippled her. Her western Canadian past, managing a dress shop, had not been the best training for such an experience. But she stuck it out, and finally could hold her own with any of the workers.

Molly came to the little village of Kfar Saba to meet me when I went to visit them not long after their arrival. The village was composed of wooden buildings gathered around the highway, which served as the main street, and all were enveloped in sand.

As we set out walking to Gan Hasharon (Garden of the Sharon they had named their place), we sank deep into the sand at each step, until our shoes were full to overflowing and we could not move.

'Take off your shoes,' said Molly finally. 'One should walk barefooted on the land.'

We took off our shoes, slung them over our shoulders, and dug our toes deep into the fine, puffy sand. It laved and caressed our feet. The heat of the day dropped away from us.

For an hour we walked in the sand, the twilight falling like soft drapery about us. The cypress-trees stood tall and sombre on either side the road, cutting sharply into the translucent sky.

We passed vineyards, with primitive thatched watch towers in the centre, just as they had in Bible days, to guard the crop.

A man came galloping up on a long-limbed grey Arab horse, and joined us. He was watchman at Gan Hasharon, and was on his way to start his night's guard.

A long, slim figure silhouetted against the evening sky, his gun slung over his shoulder, and the tassels of the embroidered saddle cloth waving as the lovely high-spirited horse reared,

anxious to be off, the Shomer looked too romantic to be an everyday reality.

An avenue of shade trees led up to the house, an amazing contrast to the sea of sand which extended right to the gates. The trunks of the trees were whitewashed down to the roots, and in the darkness they looked like gracious ladies in white tea-gowns welcoming us to Gan Hasharon.

There was a pleasant hum of activity about the house, shadows moving about in the blurred glow of coal-oil lamps. It was those coal-oil lamps which impressed on me the extent to which the family had begun to pioneer all over again.

Thirty years ago the mother and father had come from Russia to Canada, to the land. They had had coal-oil lamps then; and a two-room shack, just as they now had in Palestine. Before they left Saskatchewan their coal-oil lamp days were so far behind them they had probably forgotten that there was such a utensil. They were thirty years older, taking for granted the comforts which even a small town in western Canada offers.

But of their own free will they were starting to pioneer all over again in Palestine, living their new life in the makeshift shack with a calm rejoicing. This was the fruition of all their efforts and all their dreams: to lay sound foundations for their family in Palestine. They had only one sorrow: that they were too old to go on guard duty at night with their daughters and the other young people in the neighbourhood.

The period from the beginning of the century until the thirties was that in which the new nation was formed. The three years of Arab rioting and disorder, which began in 1936 and continued until the outbreak of war, was the period in which its calibre was tested.

The almost superhuman endeavour shown in overcoming the physical obstacles which beset the paths of the early pioneers who laid the foundations for the Jewish National Home, found

its counterpart in the heroism and unwavering determination with which the new nation defended that which it had built, and continued to build on.

Every attempt was made to lay waste the country, and, with it, the Jewish hopes of a homeland. Fields were burned, crops, orchards, forests, representing the hopes and the toil of years, were wiped out overnight. Homes were bombed, people stabbed in the back, shot, and clubbed to death while going about their everyday tasks.

'Revenge!' cried out a youth at the graveside of the first victim of Arab violence. 'Our revenge will be in creative work,' was the reply; and day after day, month after month, during the duration of the riots, construction in every field of Jewish life was the reply to Arab destruction. Restraint was the harder part of valour for young men and women who were strong and vigorous, and would happily have given their lives for their country. But they and the Jewish leaders realized that momentary revenge was no basis on which to build the foundations of the future homeland.

Self-defence was organized, but Jewish self-defence was not permitted by the Government, so it had to be done in secret. In secret they had to train, and in secret they had to defend. Night after night, young men and women stood at their defence posts, and the next day they carried on with their normal work. One Canadian boy in Tel Aviv rode his motor cycle every night through the hostile Arab town of Jaffa, to help guard an unprotected Jewish settlement on the other side. If caught by the police, he faced imprisonment; if by the Arabs, death.

In Nehemiah's day, when the returning Jews began to rebuild Jerusalem in the face of malicious endeavour to interrupt and destroy their handiwork, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. And again it had become a common sight in Palestine to see a Jewish shepherd guarding his flock with a rifle beside him; and

the ploughman beginning cultivation on a barren hillside, gun flung across his shoulder.

Each month, as the riots continued, a new settlement was built. Since partially completed settlements were more vulnerable to attack, speed and stealth were essential, and thus arose the phenomenon of the twenty-four-hour settlements. They were not built on the spot, brick by brick, as the earlier settlements were built, but the entire structure was assembled in advance, wall by wall, section by section. Then, before dawn, lorries loaded with beds and windows, pots and pans, walls and barbed-wire fences, would set off in convoy from a convenient colony.

It is recorded in *First-Fruits*, the diary of the American colony Ein Hashophet: 'As we passed through the countryside, our lorries loaded, *en route* to what was to be our place of settlement, Arab villagers paused in their work to gaze at this strange expedition. One, a ferocious-looking individual with moustachios, cried out, half in anger, half in contempt: "Majnouni, majnouni!" (You lunatics!)

Yes, perhaps they were mad. A divine madness, to be so imbued with the fierce fire of idealism, the spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, that they would face hardship and death so that one bit of Palestine soil might be built up and produce.

By noon that day a new point of settlement had been established in the wilderness. That night a lonely watch-tower would be silhouetted against the sky with searchlight shining forth, signalling to the countryside, to friends and to enemies, that another citadel had arisen, dedicated to the rehabilitation of a desolated country, a desolated people.

Those lone wooden watch-towers became the symbol of the undefeated Jewish community in Palestine.

Attack was never long in coming; and many times before the first night had passed young men and women who had toiled so vigorously that morning lay dead. But the next night the searchlight shone out again, and for all succeeding nights.

Not a single Jewish settlement was given up for as much as a day.

Their names are too numerous to mention, those settlements of glorious history, for every one had its hour of danger and heroic defence. But, of all, I like most to think of the settlement of Tirath Zvi, a lonely little outpost set in a wilderness, in the fiercest centre of Arab disruption.

So alone, so remote from friendly colony or police post, that on the night when their signal went out for help to beat off the band of terrorists that had begun a fierce attack on the little settlement, the brigands had already fled by the time help arrived.

But except for the few wounded the settlement stood intact. For, fighting with the valour of the Jewish heroes of old, the settlers, with their meagre weapons, had succeeded in beating off the attack alone. So great appeared to be the panic they had created that the terrorists had fled without taking with them the bodies of their dead—something they would do only under the direst circumstances.

The story of their valour resounded throughout Palestine and echoed around the world. For the settlers of Tirath Zvi were not the tough, brawny Halutzim reared in Palestine. They were a group of pious Jews, Talmudists, the traditional Jews of the Book. Some of them even wore *peyoth*, the earlocks which have come to be regarded as a mark of the ghetto Jew and all that implies.

Just as the perplexed Arab sheikh asked the captain of the Shomerim, during the early days of the New Palestine, one could hear the question: ‘Who *are* these people?’ ‘They are Jews,’ ‘*Jews?*’ ‘Yes, but Jews with the centuries of exile, of degradation cast from their shoulders. They are the true posterity of the ancient people who once lived in Palestine. The Beni Israel.’

In the midst of the destruction of the last war, a great creative

force was mobilized with the announcement of the Balfour Declaration. To-day we are in the midst of an even greater destruction, and an even greater need to mobilize all the forces of reconstruction. And one thinks of the Jewish youth that was in Germany and in the German-occupied countries of Europe. One thinks of the Jewish youth in concentration camps, in labour camps—in internment camps stretching right round the globe, from the Isle of Man to Manitoba, and from Australia to the Mauritius Islands. Young Jewish men and women languishing, feeling their energies, their valuable energies, seeping away in hopeless longing, waiting and hoping for the end of the war, for the time when the Balfour Declaration will again become a living paper, and the gates of Palestine will be thrown open.

Their dream is of a new life to come, of their own redemption, and of the redemption of their people through creative work in their own land. Their ambition, the ambition of the Halutzim before them—to serve the nation as her pioneers, and to create in Eretz Israel a haven of social justice, personal freedom, and equality. Are there finer ideals in the world to-day?

If the youth of the world approach the task of reconstruction in their own countries with the same ideals, and in the same spirit of Halutziuth as manifested by the Halutzim of Palestine, then there need be no fear for the future that faces us in the post-war world.

THE YOUTH ALIYAH

By Eva Michaelis-Stern

'There is hope for thy children.'—Jeremiah xxxi. 17.

THREE years of war have left thousands of homeless Jewish children adrift in central Europe. They belong nowhere, they have lost their parents, they do not know where their sisters and brothers are, and they wonder whether to-morrow there will be any food for them to eat; a haunted and homeless crowd of children who have already forgotten what it is like to have someone who is kind to them. They have nobody to cling to. The strangers around them are hard and pitiless. They do not trust anybody, for, in their young lives, they have had no other experience than that the world is hostile and full of dangers.

It was in 1933, immediately after the Nazi programme of persecution was announced, that the youngest Jewish community realized clearly the terrible threat to the young generation that was implied. This community, the Yishub of Palestine, was neither rich nor settled. It consisted of young pioneers who were only just building up their own settlements in Eretz Israel. They still had to conquer the soil. They still had to struggle hard economically. They had their own problems to solve. These people, once fugitives themselves from a hostile native country, had come to Palestine to build up a new home for themselves. But not only for themselves; they also paved the way for generations to come.

When Hitler came into power their homes were not ready yet, but little did it matter. Here were children in dire need, for whom homes had to be found. They would take them in and share with them their life and work, they would bring them up and love them, and the young newcomers would again

belong to a community and make for themselves a life worth living. Thus the farmers of the co-operative settlements in Palestine came forward with the offer to take care of the threatened children from Europe, to be responsible for their education and training, and to shape their future lives.

Two outstanding women played a decisive part in putting this children's Odyssey into effect: Recha Freier in Germany, and Henrietta Szold in Palestine. Profoundly different in temperament, their abilities supplemented each other and their combined efforts called the Children and Youth Aliyah into life. Recha Freier, who will fight any obstacle which stands in the way of an idea becoming a reality, was the first to visualize a children's exodus from the chaos of Europe to the settlements of Palestine. It was she who won the support of Palestine's agricultural workers and their late leader Arlosoroff, long before anybody considered a similar child immigration at all possible.

Henrietta Szold was not the woman to embark on a new scheme before being thoroughly convinced that there existed practical possibilities which ought to be explored. Whilst Recha Freier propagated the idea of the Children and Youth Aliyah, and undertook to convince the Jews all over the world that here was the one and only solution for the redemption of the youngest Jewish generation, Henrietta Szold worked out a practicable scheme in Palestine, in co-operation with the farmers who had offered to the Palestine Government to bring up groups of children in their settlements.

In 1933, Henrietta Szold visited Germany to meet the leaders of the Jewish youth movements there and the social workers who had made themselves responsible for the guidance of Jewish youth. A new movement came into being called the Children and Youth Aliyah. As the result of careful deliberations and long discussions, Recha Freier's idea took definite shape. Jewish boys and girls from Germany were to be removed, in groups of twenty to sixty, to settlements and agricultural

institutions in Palestine. They were to live on the land and lead a farmer's life. The most suitable age for the agricultural training they were to undergo was considered to be fifteen to sixteen. The boys and girls would devote four hours of the day to general schooling, for they were in urgent need of an all-round education; and the rest of the day to practical work of all kinds on the land.

From the start, the Youth Aliyah movement received many more applications than could be dealt with, for the number of certificates has never been high enough to admit all young would-be immigrants. A system of selection was, therefore, established before the candidate was finally accepted in a Youth Aliyah group. Physical and mental suitability were tested in preparation camps where each young candidate had to spend some four or six weeks. There, their way of life was adjusted, as far as possible, to the circumstances of their future life in Palestine.

These young people were chosen on the ground of merit. And they realized quite well that it depended mostly on themselves whether they were admitted to a Youth Aliyah group or not. To realize this was the first step to their self-education. In the midst of Nazi Germany, these preparation camps were like outposts of Jewish Palestine where the young candidates were being directed towards a new social understanding born of the communal group life. The problems of their future home land were brought near to them, and the circumstances under which the community lived which awaited them.

These Palestinian 'outposts' were kept going while the Youth Aliyah head office in Berlin had to fight the German secret police who, though constantly demanding increased emigration, did everything in their power to render the necessary preparations as complicated and disagreeable as possible. The more pressure German Jewry had to bear, the closer did they hold together, the stronger became their resolution to find a way out, at least for their children. The fact, above all, that

group after group actually left Germany for Palestine instilled new hope in the hearts of trampled German Jewry, gave them something to believe in and to work for. Thus the spirit of Jewish Palestine, its offer to accept these Jewish children and to bring them up as their own, went a long way to encourage the Jews remaining in Germany to bear their fate.

If the older generation had to resign themselves to their fate, the young, at least, were to be saved. Many trains carrying the children away left Germany's main stations. Whilst the parents tried hard not to show what the sacrifice of separation meant to them, the children sang Hebrew songs when their train started to move out of the station. A surprised lot of secret police men could do nothing to stop them, so, instead, they drove those who stayed behind from the platform. But nobody cried. The children were safe.

Week after week, and year after year, parents stayed behind and trains full of Jewish children left. They did not leave only from Germany. After some time they started from Vienna, from Prague, from Budapest and Bucharest, from Warsaw and Vilna, from all countries threatened and later invaded by the Nazis. Youth Aliyah grew, and Jewish youth in all European lands wanted to join them. It was a race for time against Hitler's expansion, and it is a tragic irony, indeed, that wherever Youth Aliyah started to work, the Nazis followed.

Youth Aliyah has removed groups from all countries, under all circumstances, before and during the war: 9,000 children in nine years, some 4,000 of them since the outbreak of war. Eighty agricultural settlements and institutions are educating and guiding these children. They all undergo a two years' course of training, two years that bring the decisive change in their lives. Instead of oppression and scorn, liberty and equality, instead of uncertainty, a disciplined way of life and a regular routine. From a moderate climate they are transplanted to Palestine's sunshine and heat; from the large town to the small village. The hunted young Jews become proud and

self-reliant Jews and Palestinians. Out of this revolution in their habits of life and surroundings is born a new human being, an entirely different type which can hardly be recognized after two years. This miracle is taking place constantly but it is by no means easily achieved. It takes time to conquer a new language, and even more difficult is it to overcome the terrible experiences of the past. It is hard to work in the greatest heat, or to get up in the very early morning and not to be tired for the lessons in the afternoon; and always to think of the parents, unable to help and very often not knowing what has happened to them. It is no easy task for the young group leader to form a harmonious group of sixty youngsters who had all been brought up with different backgrounds, all in great need of education, and with very little knowledge of Judaism and of Palestine. Two years of communal life, however, working and striving together, playing and singing together, in the midst of a community of settlers who have built up their homes with their very own hands, these two years transform the spiritless refugee youth from Europe into a strong and valiant pioneer.

Over three years of war have passed, and the work of the Children and Youth Aliyah goes on. Youth Aliyah is as active as ever, tracing many thousands of orphaned and homeless Jewish children who may still be salvaged by removing them step by step to their own homeland. 'They shall come with singing unto Zion and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads.'

ARABS AND JEWS IN PALESTINE

By Ephraim Broido

THE problem of Arab-Jewish relations springs from the coincidence of two facts: one that the Jews need Palestine for the normalization of their life as a people; and the other, that this country is situated on the fringe of a vast area where the Arabs have been given back their independence after centuries of Turkish domination. To be included in that independence in one form or another is the demand raised in the name of the Arab community in Palestine, about a million strong. On the other hand, it is the resolve of the Jews, not only of the half million who already live there, but of millions who long for an end to their physical and spiritual suffering, to achieve their independence in Palestine, the only place on earth on which they can base their nationhood. To the Jews, Palestine is the *homeland* with all that this term implies. For that country made them into a nation, while without the civilization they have created there Palestine would be an empty name, just like Nigeria or Somaliland. Thus, though involving numerous questions of an economic, social, or cultural character, Arab-Jewish relations have developed in recent history into an essentially political problem. And since the destinies of Palestine affect the lives of Jewry all over the world—a fact which is of some concern to not a few states—the problem of Palestine, of which the Jewish-Arab one is the permanent core, becomes an international problem of the greatest significance. Its solution, both in approach and authority, must therefore be international.

Where different ethnic or national elements meet or dwell together, friction will occur. When such friction develops into permanent disharmony, the world had better be on the alert, since more than the peace of the country most concerned

may be threatened. Humanity will have learned by the end of this war that, if it is to have peace, this peace must be based, not only on certain inalienable principles, such as the four freedoms or the free access to raw materials, but also on the adjustment of the reasonable and most deeply rooted claims of nationalism, i.e. the securing to each people the right to work out its destiny and develop its culture in its own historic land. But this would mean that the case of the landless and homeless Jewish people will have to be treated as a case *sui generis*, and that the United Nations would have to include among their foremost post-war tasks the normalization of the Jewish position in the world. As in the last war, but with much greater force, they would be driven to see that the pivotal point in any such normalization must be the strengthening of the bond between the scattered Jewish people and Palestine, a bond which outlasted eighteen centuries of persecution, and has found its most potent and emphatic expression in the Jewish work in Palestine during the last sixty years. The political recognition of this bond would, however, have to assume a much clearer and more concrete shape than it was given twenty-five years ago. To give this shape soundness and durability, Arab-Jewish understanding is necessary, indeed indispensable. A clear-sighted policy on Palestine on the part of the United Nations, bound up with a world policy based on freedom and reconstruction, will go a long way towards creating the basis for Arab-Jewish co-operation which may hail the beginning of a new era, not only for Palestine, but for the whole Middle East.

There was much in the experience of Palestine in the last twenty years to prove that Arab-Jewish co-operation was a practical possibility. Most people hear of Palestine only in times when it makes headlines—and it does not make headlines unless some blood has flowed. How often will newspapers have described the growth of good-neighbourly relations, the increasing manifestations of friendship, acts of mutual devotion, and solidarity of Jews and Arabs? But this has been going on

even during the most difficult periods, and in the shadow of the threat of death. Fellaheen in various parts of the country, and on various occasions, have fraternized with their Jewish fellow farmers, to whom they were often indebted for the example of better methods of work or for the loan of tools. Arab peasants are well aware that their improved financial status is, in most cases, due to the Jews buying their waste or surplus land, to Government facilities which were also an indirect result of Jewish immigration, and to the general raising of the standard of living produced by the Jewish revival. In a good many cases co-operation was established between the Arab and Jewish members of various trades. Drivers and shoemakers, planters and industrialists have acted together in their common interests. And most important of all was the close co-operation, established over a period of many years, between considerable numbers of Arab workers and their Jewish colleagues, especially in Government services, such as the railways and the post office. Thousands of Arab workers were organized in trade unions and clubs founded and assisted by the Jewish Labour Federation, the Histadruth. It required years of organized blackmail and assassination against members of these Jewish-Arab trade union organizations on the part of Arab extremists, and the added force of a series of rebuffs coming from the local authorities, to smother, though only temporarily, this tender plant of hopeful Arab-Jewish labour co-operation.

Unfortunately, this negative attitude prevailed throughout. Whenever Jews and Arabs could meet on common ground, the Arab participants in such occasions would have to face the consequences of the twin threats of Government disapproval, having some bearing on employment, and the Arab extremists' resentment, not less effective for being reinforced by bullets. As far as the authorities were concerned, one could not, of course, lay one's hands on any Government statement which officially discouraged Arab-Jewish co-operation. For it was not the language of high politics—there 'co-operation' and

'understanding' were an important part of the vocabulary—but the way the police treated one who happened to belong to the Railway Workers' Federation, the manner in which a district officer would arbitrate in a trade dispute in which a 'mixed' organization was involved; it was these and similar things that created the atmosphere which Arab workers or peasants could not fail to take in. The student of events may ask whether the duty of the Government did not lie in the opposite direction. And why did the line followed by British administrators so oddly converge with that quite naturally pursued by the Arab landlords and clergy-politicians?

The reasons for the opposition of these Arab elements to Arab-Jewish co-operation were not far to seek. They were inherent in the resistance of these Arab circles to the whole work of Zionism in Palestine. This did not mean, of course, as some people seemed to think, that but for this resistance Arab-British harmony would be perfect. It is difficult to see why, supposing the Jews were not there, the Arabs of Palestine would have welcomed the British any more than the Iraqi or Egyptians or Syrians have welcomed the British or the French in their countries. The opposition to British rule on the part of the Arab leaders in Palestine was primary, because it was always unconditional. Their resentment against Zionism was only inasmuch as it was instrumental in extending the duration of the British mandate, and inasmuch as the constant development of Jewish work meant a perpetual reduction of their sphere of influence and power. They would not mind the Jews in Palestine living there as a subordinate minority, on a status similar to that of the Jews in neighbouring Arab countries; and they would hardly object to a 'spiritual' Zionism which would concentrate on Jewish culture while limiting the scope of Jewish resettlement. In this sense the opposition of the Arab leaders to the Jews is secondary, because conditional. It is none the less real and profound. For the Jews will not, and could not, give up a historic ideal, which is at the

same time a desperate necessity of the present day, for a *modus vivendi*, however comfortable it may seem. But such an arrangement, based on insincerity, could not last. And the Jews of Palestine would, least of all, dream of lending their hand to it, although it is they who would stand to be the immediate beneficiaries of such an arrangement, however short-lived.

It has already been hinted that the peasantry, which forms the bulk of the Arab population, was not unfriendly to the Jews and their work. In the not too numerous cases where part of the land bought from the effendis was occupied by Arab tenants, the latter have been duly compensated and given the means to establish themselves in better conditions on new land. In other cases, where the land was bought directly from its fellahen owners, these invariably kept enough land to secure to themselves a better livelihood than before. By selling their surplus land, they have been enabled to get rid of debts and of paying atrocious rates of interest to effendis, and at the same time to improve their methods of cultivation and to raise their annual income. It can be truly said that the result of long years of incitement and anti-Jewish propaganda were, from the point of view of the Arab extremists, entirely disappointing. The cases where Arab villagers did lend their ears to lying stories that Jews had attacked or killed worshippers in the Haram-esh-Sherif, or similar nonsense, were few. The slogans put out by the Arab leaders changed frequently enough, but they invariably failed to rouse the Arab population to active opposition to Zionism or the mandate.

The impact of an enlightened, socially progressive and economically active community such as the Jews upon an area which for centuries was in a state of stagnation, or rather progressive decay, created a variety of problems, which could not be lightly dismissed. But these problems seemed insurmountable only in the case of the Arab effendis, and part of the ecclesiastic as well as some of the 'intelligentsia' circles traditionally

associated with them. The effendi class knew its position of predominance and autocracy to be, in the long run, untenable. Although Jewish activities, especially Jewish purchase of land, have brought them very direct benefits in the form of large sums of money, they could not help seeing that the further the work of progress went, the greater the danger to their privileges. A land reform, or any kind of land development plan, which would secure to the Arab peasantry its means of livelihood and release surplus land tracts for Jewish settlement, would mean a loss to them both financially and politically. They were fighting the same losing battle which many of their fellow landlords in other countries had already fought and lost. With Jewish work going on, they knew they stood to lose much more speedily than would have been the case had the authority of government been in their hands. Their campaign for democratic institutions therefore bore a distinct class-character, for 'democracy,' in the terms of Arab Palestine, meant the fortification of their positions of power. But perhaps the decisive commentary on their democratic sentiments was afforded by the fact that the majority of these Arab oligarchs have, openly or clandestinely, lined up with the Axis in this war.

Why British administrators in Palestine have looked askance at various manifestations of goodwill between Arabs and Jews is a subject much more complex, and can only be sketched briefly here. 'Divide and rule,' though a much abused explanation, still holds good as far as the mentality of many of the 'men on the spot' is concerned. If the Jews and the Arabs were to agree, what would be left for the British to do? Holding the scales even, though at times rather difficult, proved, on the whole, a congenial task to them. Furthermore, a permanent Jewish minority, in apparent need of constant protection, may have seemed to some of them a sounder reason for their presence than the rapid development of the Jewish National Home envisaged in the mandate, which might have resulted in Jewish-Arab understanding earlier than appeared

concede little, for they demanded but little—Palestine. The Arabs, ruling over areas as large as the whole of western Europe (not counting Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis), had ‘exceeding many flocks and herds.’ The Jews claimed only their ‘poor man’s lamb,’ and even of that they wanted only the share due to them. As far back as 1920, shortly after some anti-Jewish excesses in Jerusalem, Dr. Weizmann addressed himself to the Arabs at the great meeting at the Albert Hall. ‘We tell the Arabs plainly and honestly they have got enough room, and the nations of the world, and the Jewish nation, will contribute, as they did before, to the building up and regeneration of a great and glorious Arab nation. Did not Arabs and Jews collaborate and produce a great literature at a time when the whole of Europe was plunged in darkness? That may and will come again, but on one condition—that the Arab should respect the right of the Jew to Palestine, just as we respect the great traditions of the Arab nation. . . . We mean to live in friendship with the Arabs in Palestine; we who have been persecuted, we who have suffered from injustice, will guard ourselves from committing an injustice against the weaker. We shall and we must carry the Palestinian Arabs along the roads of development on which we shall go ourselves, but on the understanding that we Jews work, labour, strive, pray, and suffer for a Jewish Palestine.’ A year later, the Zionist Congress declared that acts of violence ‘can neither weaken the resolve of the Jewish people for the erection of the Jewish National Home, nor their determination to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and, together with them, to make a common home into a flourishing community, the up-building of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development. The two great Semitic peoples, united of yore by the bonds of common cultural activity, will understand in the hour of their national regeneration how to combine their vital interests in united work.’ A statement of policy, read to the Seventeenth Zionist Congress, laid down the

principle that, irrespective of its numerical strength, neither of the two nations in Palestine shall dominate or be dominated. This principle was capable of becoming a starting-point for constitutional developments which would have allayed all Arab fears of Jewish domination in the future. But, for obvious reasons, the Arab leaders would not take such statements seriously. Yet despite the serious doubts as to the standing of the Arab leaders, Jewish representatives on various occasions tried to reach an understanding with them. In every case the Arabs demanded a Jewish 'surrender.'

And yet the possibility of political agreement is there. Palestine affords a striking example of what the Jews could mean to the Arab East. Its Arab population had increased by forty per cent in the first fifteen years of the mandate, three times more than the increase in Egypt during the same period, while in Trans-Jordan the population remained stationary. The solution of the Palestinian deadlock can be achieved, and Arab opposition can be surmounted only if economic and social planning is based on a political agreement which will take the problem out of its narrow Palestinian confines into the wider setting of the whole Middle East.

The most potent proof that this was possible is afforded in the agreement, negotiated with the participation of Lawrence, and signed by the late Emir Feisal, acting formally on behalf of the Arab kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann on behalf of the Zionist Organization, fourteen months after the Balfour Declaration was made public. In it the signatories declared that they were aware of 'the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people' and realized 'that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab state and Palestine.' The agreement foresaw mutual representation by 'Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents . . . in the respective territories,' endorsed the Balfour Declaration and, specifically,

large-scale Jewish immigration and close settlement of Jews on the land, and—last not least—foreshadowed practical steps towards the co-operation of Arabs and Jews in the economic development of the Middle East. The spirit in which the Arab signatory of this agreement acted comes out even more clearly in a letter which two months later he addressed to Mr. Frankfurter, now member of the Supreme Court of the United States, then a member of the American Zionist Delegation at the Peace Conference. ‘We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria¹ for us both. Indeed, I think, neither can be a real success without the other.’

The language of this document and the lofty conception underlying it could hardly be improved upon to-day. Political changes, which affected Feisal personally, were introduced into the plan of the Arab state, and so the case arose against which Feisal prepared in his note of reservation that he ‘cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement.’ At the same time, the Syrian delegation was presenting to the Peace Conference its case for a Syria independent of Arabia, and independent also of Feisal’s claim to rule Syria. It is significant that this delegation, too, welcomed the Jewish Return, merely asking that an autonomous Palestine should remain ‘connected with Syria by the sole bond of federation.’ And lest there be any mistake about the character of this autonomous Palestine, the chief representative of the Central Syrian Committee said with reference to the Jews: ‘If they form the majority there, they will be the rulers.’

Feisal’s statesmanlike approach, and the imaginative realism of the Syrian delegation, show the way. The community of interests of Arab and Jew in the development of the Middle East, this thread which had been lost in the labyrinth of eastern

¹ Syria is used here in the wider sense and includes Palestine.

politics through muddle, lack of vision, and the intervention of Fascism, must be picked up. The dream of one Arab state covering most of the peninsula is probably incapable of revival in the near future. Yet this whole vast area, which can support many times over its present scanty population, has a variety of common problems of which the raising of the standard of life of the masses and their education is perhaps the most important. This is a task large enough to absorb the enthusiasm of more than one generation of Arabs. It would be worth the Arabs' while to enlist in this enterprise of reviving enormous derelict areas, involving intensified agriculture, industrialization and the general development of the resources of the various countries, the active assistance of a people and a movement which, in Feisal's phrase, is 'national and not imperialist,' and which could never harbour any designs on the territorial or political integrity of the Arab nations. If the Arabs agree to support the Jewish Return to Palestine, they could reasonably expect the Jews to be willing to join a predominantly Arab confederation of Middle East states. The Palestine Arabs, assured of the sympathy and solidarity of their fellow Arabs in the confederation, could have no fear or anxiety about their future, as a result of Jewish numerical preponderance in the population of Palestine or the establishment of the Jewish state. The Jews, assured of political security for the task of rescuing and settling millions of their brethren through making the most of the possibilities of the country, could release some of their skill and technical knowledge for the task of helping the neighbouring countries in their vital work. They would be capable of rendering useful assistance to their fellow confederates, who could, as a result, become more self-sufficient and independent than they are at present. Such a political understanding, coupled with economic planning, could be termed a vital necessity for the Arab and the Jewish people alike. One would like to hope that the problem is already receiving due consideration in the councils of the United

Nations. One may further hope that the divided counsels and the disruption of the Allied front after the last war, followed as they were by Franco-British rivalry, which encouraged petty local ambitions and had a disastrous effect on Arab minds, will not recur. The United Nations are vitally interested in the welfare and security of that pivotal area, the Middle East. They are equally interested in normalizing the Jewish position in the world. Both problems are deeply interrelated. The United Nations must, therefore, lend their full authority to the achievement of a sincere Arab-Jewish understanding, which would answer the just needs of the two peoples with whom so much of the destiny of the Middle East is bound up.

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND:

THE LAND PROBLEM IN PALESTINE

By Professor Samson Wright, M.D., F.R.C.P.

THE principal facts about the Jewish National Fund can be very rapidly summarized. Founded just over forty years ago, it is the land-buying instrument of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; it buys land as the 'inalienable possession of the Jewish people' on which Jewish settlement can take place. By the end of 1918 the Fund had acquired little more than 20,000 dunams out of a total Jewish land holding of 220,000 dunams. In 1942 the Fund owned nearly 600,000 dunams out of a Jewish total of 1,600,000 dunams. The use of the unfamiliar unit of measurement, the dunam, obscures the significance of these data. A dunam is one-quarter of an acre. The total area of Palestine west of the Jordan is 26,500,000 dunams, or about 10,162 square miles. The total Jewish land holding, which is about 650 square miles, represents 6 per cent of the total area of Palestine. We must recall that the Jewish population exceeds 500,000 out of a total of just over 1,500,000, or nearly 33 per cent. Thus the average land holding of each Jew, after all these years of effort, is still only one-eighth that of each Arab, or 3·2 dunams as compared with 25. This comparison does not represent the situation quite fairly because allowance has to be made for the southern region of Palestine, which is at present almost uninhabited desert. The total area of the Negeb is 12,500,000 dunams, and the wilderness of Judaea 1,000,000 dunams. If the whole of this area is excluded from the calculation the Arab holding is still about 12 dunams per person. According to Arab official statements, 19,000,000 dunams of land in Palestine are 'uncultivable.' The reliability of this statement will be discussed later on, but it may be convenient to assume its accuracy for the sake of argument.

This would mean that the Arabs possess 6,500,000 dunams of land which is actually cultivable. Let us suppose, which is not the case, that the entire Jewish holding is both cultivable and cultivated. This would still give the Arabs 6·5 dunams of cultivable land per person, and about 3·2 dunams of land of any kind per Jew. Certain considerations emerge from these data. The problem in Palestine seems to be not so much that of the landless Arab as of the landless Jew. Close investigation of the problem by several British commissions who could not be accused of pro-Jewish bias failed to reveal more than a handful of Arabs who have lost their land holdings as a result of Jewish colonization activity; there is, on the other hand, abundant proof that Arab land possessions have become vastly more fruitful and support much larger numbers of agricultural workers because of the benefits that have accrued from Jewish example and Jewish capital.

The total income of the Jewish National Fund throughout its period of activity is about £7,000,000, nearly all of which has been collected in the last twenty years. It is difficult to assess how much money has been paid by private Jewish purchasers of land, but it is not an unreasonable guess that some £20,000,000 have been received by Arab owners, many of them Arab villagers, up to this date. It is this huge acquisition of capital, together with the many other direct and indirect contributions from Zionist activity in Palestine, that has revolutionized Arab economy so favourably. The Arab population of Palestine has doubled in the last twenty years, from 500,000 to 1,000,000, and Arab agriculture supports at least twice as many people as it did before the last war, and, in addition, supports them at a considerably higher standard of living.

These facts help to make clear the nature and magnitude of the Jewish post-war problem. It is certain that several millions of Jews in Europe will be faced by the alternative of migration to Palestine or of 'physical liquidation.' We must think in terms of an influx of, say, not less than 500,000 Jews in the

immediate post-war period. This involves the creation of a land reserve of not less than 500 square miles at a cost of £10,000,000 to £20,000,000 for the land, apart from the very large sums that will be needed for development. The necessary land is, however, available in different parts of the country without harming any Arab interests; and it is certain that this new intensive activity will prove enormously beneficial to the country as a whole. We believe, and have evidence for the view, that much of the land of Palestine which has been officially designated as 'uncultivable' is not merely cultivable, but can serve as a basis for the establishment of many flourishing agricultural centres. We already have experience of some 350,000 dunams of so-called uncultivable land in the hill country where successful settlements are now to be seen. At least another 2,500,000 dunams of waste hill country could be brought under cultivation, making room for an additional 50,000 families. As far as the so-called southern desert is concerned, we have the well-known verdict of Sir John Hope Simpson in 1930, who said that 'given the possibility of irrigation there is practically an inexhaustible supply of cultivable land in the Beersheba area.' Jewish experts are convinced that water could be brought to this desolate wilderness; and, if this is achieved, enormous new possibilities for immigration will have been created. We know, in addition, that much land which is at present extensively cultivated by primitive methods can be intensively cultivated by employing the full resources of science. We can confidently assert that the material difficulties in the way of large-scale Jewish land settlement are not insuperable. New colonization on the scale indicated, or even on two or three times that scale (together with the appropriate industrial development), could be successfully carried out.

Jewish land acquisition and settlement are, of course, essential for the establishment and expansion of the Jewish national home. This is recognized in the well-known injunction to the Mandatory Power 'to promote the close settlement of Jews on the

land.' To-day nearly 150,000 Jews are engaged in agricultural pursuits or are living in rural areas, as against about 350,000 in the larger towns. The political rights of the Jews in Palestine have tended to be measured and limited by the size of their land holdings. For example, when the Peel Commission recommended a Jewish State in a section of Palestine, they assigned boundaries to that State which roughly incorporated the then existing Jewish land possessions. Had land acquisition at that time been on a larger scale, there is every reason to suppose that the area of the suggested Jewish State would have been correspondingly greater in accordance with the well-known precept of 'to him who hath shall be given.'

It is true that politically and, to some extent, economically, land purchase by any Jew, whether a private investor or large corporation or public utility company, is of equal value. There is, however, little doubt that from certain standpoints land purchase by the Jewish National Fund has a special significance all its own. It has always considered first Jewish need of land rather than its strict economic value. In a sense it has created land by buying areas which are derelict, and by the investment of labour, sacrifice, capital—and health or even life—has converted it into fruitful soil. The Emek (Valley of Esdraelon) now contains thirty-six Jewish villages with a population of 15,000 souls settled on some 200,000 dunams. It represents to-day a beautiful scene of orderly development. The well-known passage from the High Commissioner's Report for 1925 described the same area as it existed in 1920:

When I first saw the Valley of Esdraelon in 1920, it was desolate. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest the country was uninhabited, there was not a house, not a tree. Along the branch of the Hedjaz railway an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. The River Kishon which flows through the valley and the many springs which feed it from the hill sides had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes and the country was infested with malaria.

Miraculous transformations of this type have gone on, especially in nationally owned land, throughout Jewish Palestine; similar developments are to be seen in our more recent acquisitions in Galilee and Huleh.

This constructive work of the Fund makes the small country of Palestine a progressively bigger country; but public land acquisition of this kind has other advantages. Land can be acquired in large areas and a long-term policy can be pursued. Plans of orderly development can be prepared and executed, the profit motive can, to some extent, be ignored, and the welfare of the settler and the country as a whole becomes the dominant consideration. Only a body like the Jewish National Fund could have the patience and the skill to overcome all the obstacles resulting from the chaotic condition of the land laws in Palestine, and the unhelpful attitude on many occasions of the authorities. In times of crisis private land buying always stops, and the Fund (which goes on with its work, even more energetically in bad times than in good) then becomes the sole instrument of Jewish land redemption. The Fund, too, could experiment with diverse forms of settlement to suit the needs and temperaments of the settlers from different countries and with different ideals and traditions.

The work of the Fund as a great planning organization is well seen in the Haifa Bay area. The Fund was able to acquire all the land along the coast to a depth of some miles between Haifa and Acre. It recognized that Haifa was destined to become the greatest port, the greatest *entrepôt* centre, and the greatest industrial area of the Middle East; that its population, which was then less than 50,000, would grow rapidly (it is now over 120,000) and might ultimately rival that of Alexandria or even of Marseilles. There was a wonderful chance for a great constructive achievement, and it was not missed. The whole area was planned by Professor Patrick Abercrombie, who has since added the replanning of Greater London to his responsibilities. In the southern part is the industrial zone where new

factories are located. Here, for instance, are great oil refineries, railway workshops, port harbour works, and the innumerable small and large factories which have sprung up. Further north is the residential zone, planned on garden city lines; and further north still, intensively developed agricultural land which feeds the town and forms a land reserve for future spread of population. This work of the Fund has assured not only prosperity but also the health, amenities, and beauty of the entire Haifa Bay zone. On the cultural side, the Fund has always been ready to provide land for institutions which serve a useful purpose, whether it is the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, or a school, synagogue, or hall in a town or village.

Some reference must be made to the various forms of social organization found in the settlements built on land provided by the Fund. It is well known that the Fund does not sell its land but leases it for long periods, with proper safeguards to the tenant for the renewal of his lease and for compensation for developmental activities. The Fund very naturally insists that Jewish labour shall be employed on its land, as it is concerned, not with the establishments of Jewish landlords, but with a Jewish agricultural population living and working on the land. It leases land to small holders who work as independent units; to co-operative groups, who, perhaps, buy and sell together and make arrangements for mutual assistance; or to communal settlements where the entire farm buildings and contents are owned in common by the settlers, who possess no private property. In the vicinity of industrial centres the Fund provides land for housing estates where each worker is granted a generous-sized allotment which yields valuable market-garden produce. Recently the Fund has acquired land for the establishment of three farm cities for middle-class settlers from Great Britain; the progress of this experiment is being watched with great interest as it may point the way to an important new type of development in Palestine. The Fund is not biased in favour of one or other kind of settlement. Each has played its part

successfully in the development of Palestine and each is specially adapted to the needs of certain groups. There is no doubt that communal settlements, for example, have proved invaluable as an initial training ground where newcomers can be adjusted to life on the soil in Palestine. No one, too, can fail to be impressed by the spirit of idealism and self-sacrifice and mutual help which is characteristic of these settlements. There is much in the experience and practice of the Jewish National Fund that may prove of interest and even of value to great nations planning the brave new world of the future.

The greatest achievement that can be put to the credit of the Fund is that it has played a vital part in the creation of a Jewish peasantry, secure in its land holdings, ardent, disciplined, self-reliant, devoted to its work, and imbued with ideals of social justice which are being realized in the everyday traffic of life. A national revolution has been effected. The synthesis of productivity and responsibility which characterizes Jewish agricultural life has led to the development of a new Jewish type which is the backbone of the National Home.

Enough has been said to show that so far as the problems set by nature are concerned we have nothing to fear. We are confident that 'land is available which can be reclaimed, drained, reafforested, fertilized, and irrigated, that by the introduction of modern and intensive methods of cultivation, modern machinery, new breeds of cattle and poultry, new plants and seeds, and the rotation of crops, the land will increase its yield to such a degree as will raise the standard of living and reduce the area necessary for the maintenance of a family.' What still have to be overcome are political obstacles which reached their peak in the land regulations based on the MacDonald White Paper of 1939. As is well known, these regulations divided Palestine into three zones: an area of about 519 square miles in which no restrictions are placed on Jewish land purchase (of this over 200 square miles are already in Jewish ownership); an area of 3,231 square miles in which land purchase can only

take place with the prior specific consent of the Government; in the rest of the country (6,412 square miles) land purchase by Jews is completely banned. There is no need to stress the illegal character of these regulations, which are entirely contrary not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the mandate. They involve the creation of a Jewish Pale of Settlement in Palestine, the country of the Jewish national home. The last Jewish Pale of Settlement in west Russia was abolished by the Russian Revolution in 1917, and little need be said about the irony of the situation in which a British Government, fighting for its declared ideals and pledged to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, has to enforce such a Pale of Settlement in Palestine. These regulations cannot even be defended from the point of view of maintaining Arab rights. As has been pointed out, the Arabs themselves say that there are 19,000,000 dunams of uncultivable land in Palestine. There can surely be no objection from any point of view to allowing the Jews to acquire land which is officially described as useless. Perhaps these regulations should not be taken too seriously in considering the future. They are so unjust and so harmful to both Jew and Arab that we can feel fairly certain that they will not survive the end of this war. Granted that insuperable political obstacles of this character are not encountered, we can look forward to the future with confidence. The Jewish National Fund has demonstrated its confidence both in victory and in a just peace by continuing its work with ever increasing vigour throughout the war period. In the first three years of the war its income throughout the world has totalled £2,000,000 and its new land acquisitions about 140,000 dunams. It has the knowledge, experience, and faith needed to meet whatever problems still await it.

PALESTINE LAND TRANSFER REGULATIONS

I

STATEMENT BY THE LONDON EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

THE Jewish Agency deeply regret that the controversy between His Majesty's Government and themselves over the Statement of Policy published in May 1939 is now reopened by the enacting of the Land Regulations. At a time when, under the Nazis, millions of Jews suffer as no nation has suffered in modern history, His Majesty's Government take action endangering the Jewish national heritage, of which they are the appointed trustee.

These Land Regulations forbid the acquisition of land by Jews in the greater part of Palestine, and severely restrict it in most of the rest; thus they bar to the Jews access to the soil of Palestine, and confine them to a Pale of Settlement in the country of their National Home; they make a mockery of the obligation placed upon His Majesty's Government by the Mandate to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land; they discriminate against the Jews on grounds of race and religion, such discrimination being explicitly forbidden by the Mandate.

When the White Paper of May 1939 came before the Permanent Mandates Commission, it was unanimously pronounced to be contrary to the interpretations previously placed by His Majesty's Government on the Mandate, and accepted by the League. The majority of the Commission declared it incompatible with any construction which could properly be put upon the Mandate. In carrying out the White Paper after its legality has been so authoritatively challenged, His Majesty's Government are acting in an arbitrary manner.

His Majesty's Government argue that these Land Regulations are necessary in order to prevent the rise of a considerable landless Arab population. But the legend of Arab displacement was disproved when submitted to factual examination. Wherever the Jews have settled on the land, the neighbouring Arab villages have benefited and prospered, whereas other districts have remained backward and undeveloped. Not even land officially classified as 'uncultivable' is exempted from the new prohibitions. The new Regulations are a concession to Arab political claims, not a measure for the protection of Arab cultivators.

When war broke out, the Jewish Agency felt that the fate of Jewry was bound up with this life-and-death struggle forced upon civilized humanity. They ranged themselves on the side of Britain and France, and, while they would not, and could not, renounce any of their national rights they made no conditions and only asked for opportunity to throw their full weight on the side of the Allies. Nor were these offers mere vague assurances; they were made in concrete terms and it has depended solely upon His Majesty's Government to make use of them. But His Majesty's Government is apparently advised that it will better repay to let the Jewish offer lie, and through the three features of the White Paper to reproduce for the Jews in their National Home the root-evils of the Dispersion —barred doors, discrimination on grounds of race and religion, and permanent minority status.

Once more we declare our conviction that the White Paper is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Mandate. We shall continue to uphold our rights and to oppose their infringement by every legitimate means at our disposal. We are as ready as ever for co-operation with the Arab people, both in the economic and in the political sphere, on the basis of mutual respect for the rightful interests of both nations in the reconstruction of the Middle East. We appeal to the British public for their understanding and support in our struggle

against the sterile restrictions and prohibitions of the White Paper.

We call upon the Jews to keep firm and united, working for the day when the Rule of Law will be re-established in the world and the rights of the weak be made as safe as those of the strong.

28th February 1940.

II

LETTER TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

His Excellency,
The High Commissioner for Palestine,
Government House,
Jerusalem

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We have the honour to refer to the Land Transfer Regulations, a copy of which was communicated to us to-day, and to request that our following submissions be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

2. We do not propose in these submissions to offer any criticisms on points of detail but to make some observations on the general principles on which the Regulations are based.

3. The effect of these Regulations is that no Jew may acquire in Palestine a plot of land, a building, or a tree, or any right in water, except in towns and in a very small part of the country. The Regulations deny to Jews equality before the law and introduce racial discrimination. They confine the Jews within a small Pale of Settlement similar to that which existed

in Tsarist Russia before the last war, and such as now exists only under Nazi rule. They not only violate the terms of the Mandate but completely nullify its primary purpose.

4. The preamble to the Mandate provides that the 'Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on 2nd November 1917 by the Government of His Britannic Majesty . . . in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.' Article 2 enjoins that the 'Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home as laid down in the Preamble.' Article 6 prescribes that the 'Administration of Palestine shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.' Article 15 stipulates that 'no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language.' All of these provisions are swept aside by the new Regulations.

5. According to the Explanatory Note accompanying them, these Regulations are intended to give effect to the Statement of Policy of His Majesty's Government dated 17th May 1939. In our letter to Your Excellency dated 31st May and in a supplementary memorandum dated 4th June 1939 we contended that this Statement of Policy was incompatible with the terms of the Mandate. The Permanent Mandates Commission, at its thirty-sixth session, unanimously held that that policy was not in accordance with the interpretation which had always been placed on the Palestine Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations and by His Majesty's Government, while a majority of the Commission reached the conclusion that the policy of the White Paper was not in conformity with the Mandate and that any contrary conclusion was 'ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate and the

fundamental intentions of its authors.' The conclusion of this impartial body, which is charged by the League of Nations with examining the administration of the Mandate, bears out our contention regarding the Statement of Policy.

The assent given by a majority of the House of Commons to the Statement of Policy on 21st May 1939 was, as we understood it, based on the assumption made by the Secretary of State in the debate, that there was no contradiction between the Statement of Policy and the terms of the Mandate. As indicated above, this assumption was found by the Permanent Mandates Commission to be unwarranted.

6. As stated in the Explanatory Note, the Regulations have been made in order to give effect to paragraph 16 of the Statement of Policy. This paragraph purports to be based on purely economic grounds. It is asserted that owing to the natural growth of the Arab population and the sale of Arab land to Jews, there is no room for further transfer of Arab land to Jews in certain areas. We challenge the accuracy of this assertion. We contend that the greater part of the land of Palestine is still not cultivated; that the development of their holdings by the Arabs was rendered possible largely by the sale of part of their land to Jews; that precisely in those areas where Arabs sold some of their land to Jews the economic position of the Arabs was improved, while in the areas where this was not the case the situation of the rural population has remained stagnant and a considerable proportion of the land lies waste.

A mere cursory examination of the map referred to in the Regulations is sufficient to demonstrate how unfounded is the economic argument on which the Regulations are supposedly based. The restrictions imposed by the Regulations do not apply to the small area of land from Tantura to the southern boundary of the Ramleh Sub-District. This is precisely the area where there have been considerable sales of land to Jews, where Jewish settlement is most concentrated and where at the

same time the increase of the Arab population has been greater than in any other part of the country. Conversely, in Zone A, where very little land was transferred to Jews, the Arab population has hardly increased. It is in this zone, which comprises the greatest part of the country, that the transfer of land to Jews is to be entirely prohibited.

7. We have on several occasions requested the Government to furnish us with the factual and statistical data on which it is sought to justify land restrictions, in order that our experts might examine them. This request has been consistently refused. If the new land policy can really be justified on purely economic grounds, as claimed in the Statement of Policy, we fail to understand why it should have been found necessary to keep this material secret.

8. In a public statement made by the Arab delegation to the Palestine Conference in London last year it was admitted that there were some nineteen million dunams of land in Palestine west of the Jordan, out of a total of less than twenty-seven million dunams, which were not cultivated by Arabs and which were uncultivable by them. The acquisition and development by Jews of practically all of these lands have now been prohibited on the pretext of a shortage of land.

9. We submit that far from benefiting the Arabs, the Regulations will be harmful to their interests. They will condemn the greater part of Palestine to remain waste and will paralyse the agricultural progress of the Arab cultivators by depriving them of one of the surest means of improving their holdings.

10. Apart from any question of the validity, justice, and economic soundness of the Regulations, we submit that their enactment at the present moment is most unfortunate. The country is only now beginning to recover from the disastrous effects of four years of disturbances. The introduction of the Regulations in these circumstances, can only interfere with the return to normality, the restoration of peaceful relations

between Jews and Arabs and their co-operation with the Government.

While it is claimed for the new policy that it is designed to establish peace and co-operation between Jews and Arabs, the Regulations are bound to widen the gulf between the two communities and to prevent any co-operation in the important sector of agriculture.

11. The new land policy embodied in the Regulations strikes at the heart of the Jewish National Home by depriving the Jews of the right to settle on the land outside a small Pale of Settlement and compels them, as in the Diaspora, to be town-dwellers. This attempt to frustrate the age-long aspiration of the Jewish People to become rooted again in the soil of its ancient Homeland is made at a time when millions of Jews are being mercilessly persecuted by a cruel enemy. This blow is being inflicted by the Government of a great nation which undertook to restore the Jewish People to their National Home. The Jewish People will not submit to the conversion of the Jewish National Home into a ghetto, nor can it believe that Great Britain would consciously be responsible for such a travesty of an international obligation.

12. In 1930 His Majesty's Government published a White Paper containing proposals which seemed to involve new restrictive tests for Jewish settlement in Palestine. Lord Hailsham and Sir John Simon who contended that these innovations were inconsistent with the Mandate, wrote a letter to *The Times* in which they said as follows:

We are not at present concerned with the expediency of the Government's policy, but the Mandate constitutes for the people of this country a legal as well as a moral duty, and breach of its terms by any British Government would lay this country open to the grave charge of a breach of faith and disregard of its international obligations. . . . This country cannot afford to allow any suspicion to rest on its good faith or on its determination to carry out to the full its international obligations. If, therefore, the terms of the White Paper are the deliberate and considered announcement of Government's policy we

would suggest that immediate steps be taken to induce the Council of the League of Nations to obtain from The Hague Court an advisory opinion on the question involved and that the British Government should not enforce those paragraphs which are challenged unless and until the Court has pronounced in their favour.

13. The Jewish Agency respectfully submits that the procedure suggested by these eminent legal authorities should be followed by His Majesty's Government in regard to the new land Regulations.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed) D. BEN-GURION,
Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Jerusalem, 27th February 1940.

III

THE THREE ZONES UNDER THE LAND REGULATIONS

1. The area of Palestine (west of the Jordan) exclusive of lakes is 6,504,000 acres, of which 381,000, or 5·8 per cent, are in Jewish hands.

2. Palestine has now been divided into three zones: Zone A, where no land may be bought by Jews; Zone B, where Jewish land purchase may be allowed only under special circumstances; and the 'Free Zone,' where Jewish land purchase is not subjected to administrative restrictions.

3. Zone A comprises 4,104,000 acres, or about 63·1 per cent of the total;

Zone B, 2,067,840 acres, or 31·8 per cent;

The 'Free Zone,' 332,160 acres, or 5·1 per cent.

4. In the prohibited zone the Jews own about 80,500 acres,

or 1·4 per cent of the total area. Of this, 20,000 are owned by the Palestine Potash Company, not a purely Jewish concern, whose land is not used for agriculture.

5. In the restricted zone the Jews own 130,617 acres of land. Of the remaining 1,937,223 acres, fully 1,700,000 acres are in the Southern Negeb—an arid area practically uninhabited and as yet unexplored.

6. In the 'free' zone 170,000 acres are owned by Jews and 162,160 acres by Arabs. This area, which is all that is open to Jewish land purchase without legal restrictions, forms 2·6 per cent of non-Jewish land in Palestine. 48,500 Arabs live on it.

7. Mr. MacDonald stated in the House of Commons on 6th March 1940 that 'the transfer of land from Jews to Arabs is to continue freely, absolutely unrestricted . . . throughout practically the whole length and breadth of the maritime plain.'

The Maritime Plain is defined in the Memoranda prepared by the Palestine Government for the Royal Commission (page 22) as stretching 'from the southern boundary of Palestine near Rafa to the northern boundary at Naqura.' It covers 931,000 acres, of which 332,000 acres are the Free Zone.

8. Mr. MacDonald said: 'There will be no prohibition in the rest of the plain country . . . there will be no prohibition in the famous, spacious territory called the Negeb.'

The greater part of the Plain of Beisan, the Jordan Plain down to the Dead Sea, the plateau north of Beersheba, and the great southern plain round Gaza and Beersheba, including the northern and more promising part of the Negeb, are in the prohibited zone. The southern plain alone in the Gaza and Beersheba Sub-Districts comprises 1,400,000 acres, a large part of it good agricultural land, with a rural population of little over 100,000.

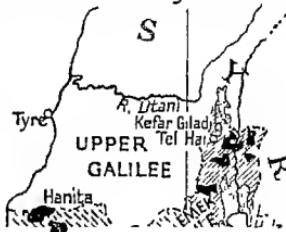
9. Over two million acres of plain country are in the prohibited and another two million acres in the restricted zone; while practically the whole of the hill country is completely closed to the Jews.

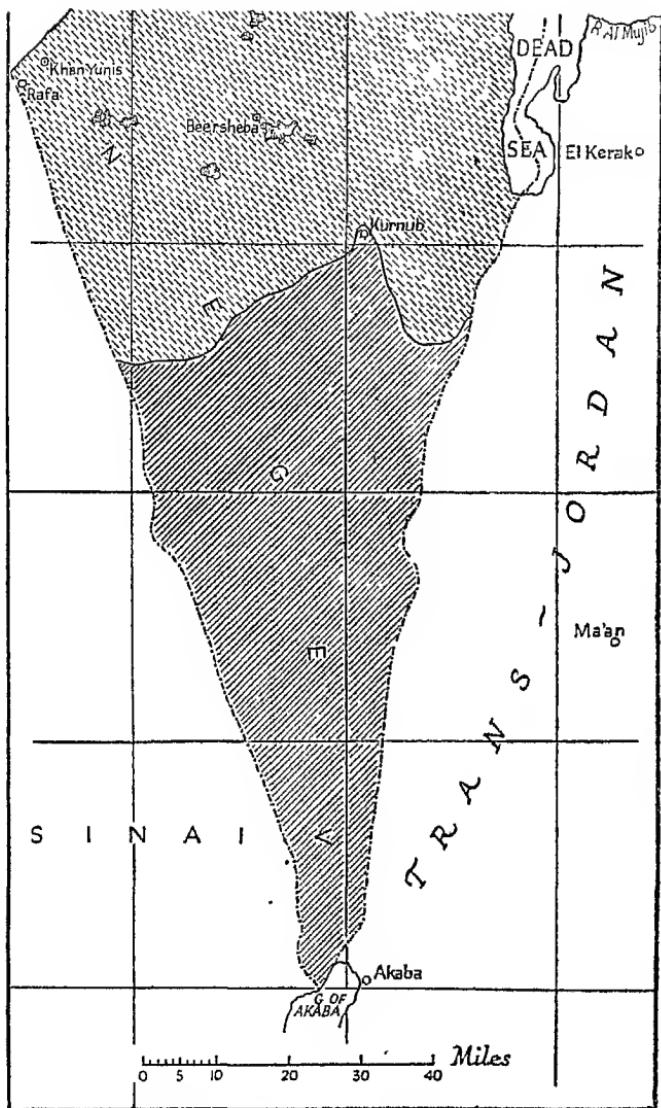
MAP OF PALESTINE

Illustrating the Land Transfer Regulations of February 28th 1940

TOTAL AREA 10,429 sq miles

- ZONE A 6,615 sq miles (land purchases by Jews prohibited)
- ZONE B. 3,295 sq miles (land purchases by Jews restricted)
- FREE ZONE 519 sq miles (land purchase unrestricted)
- JEWISH LAND owned by the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael (Jewish National Fund)





10. Here are the relevant figures in tabulated form, with the population added:

	Area (Acres)	% of Total	Jewish Land (Acres)	Jewish Rural Pop.	Arab Land (Acres)	Arab Rural Pop.
Zone A. (Prohibited)	4,104,000	63	80,500	5,000	4,203,500	564,000
Zone B. (Restricted)	2,067,840	32	130,617	13,000	1,937,223	54,000
Free Zone	332,160	5	170,000	48,000	162,160	48,500

IV. ZIONIST POLICY

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION:

ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By Professor S. Brodetsky

I

NEVER has the Jewish people been exposed to a policy of physical destruction comparable with the avowed aim of the German Government. Since the destruction of the first Temple and the dispersion of the Jewish people over many lands, attempts have been made from time to time to exterminate us, and on some occasions an extermination policy has been carried out against sections of our people. But never has an attempt to exterminate Jewry been made on such a wide scale as by the Nazis and their satellites. The number of Jews on the European continent before the war was about nine and a half millions, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that between seven and eight million Jews have been overtaken by Nazi devilry—in other words, nearly half of the whole Jewish people has been for years exposed to the wildest forms of denunciation, robbery, torture, and systematic murder. Millions of Jewish men, women, and children have already met their deaths by methods which are often beyond description, and the greatest crime ever committed in history is still going on to-day.

In former days the speed of destruction was slow and it was fairly easy to escape; further, the avowed aim of destruction was against the followers of the Jewish faith, and physical safety could be secured even by the Marrano method of pretended Christian piety. To-day the speed of murder, the mass scale of destruction, the unprecedented physical and political

difficulties of escape, and the conversion of anti-Jewish hatred into a racial lunacy have made the danger to Jews the greatest in even our tragic history. The position is still more sad because many people refuse to believe that men do the unbelievable things recorded of the exterminators. Finally, when people speak of saving Jews, they are often content to consider that the millions who are caught within the German trap are lost, and only those few who can steal away across guarded frontiers and through unimaginable dangers can be rescued.

The urgent Jewish task to-day is to rescue Jews from immediate destruction, and Palestine is the obvious cure for these broken lives.

But Zionism was not created by such tragedy as faces our people to-day; and in considering the place of the Balfour Declaration in Jewish history, and its function in dealing with the political objectives of Jewish life, we should transfer our thoughts to the Jewish problem as it existed in the minds of those who laid the foundations of Zionism seventy or eighty years ago, namely the political, economic, and spiritual salvation of the Jewish nation.

If the Zionist conviction about the nature of the Jewish problem has ever needed confirmation, then the events of to-day make any further confirmation unnecessary. Millions of Jews are exposed to cold-blooded, calculated murder, and the civilized world looks on, unable to take any step to stop the process. There are some Jews who are still discussing the choice between Jewry as an established, free nation, and Jews living dispersed among the various peoples of the world and assimilating themselves more and more to the life and modes of thought of these peoples. When civilization is fighting, in the words of the American President, in order to establish the freedoms of thought, of religion, from fear, and from want, the Jewish people is alone with the tragic problem of fighting for its freedom to live. When a people is reduced to this

situation, it becomes childish for it to discuss whether it prefers to live under its own responsibility, and if necessary to fight for its own safety, or whether it wants to depend for ever upon the kindnesses of those peoples whose treatment of Jewry has eventuated in the unimaginable disaster of to-day.

In our present Jewish tragedy nobody is proposing that we should appeal to the German Government to let the Jews continue to live safely in the territories occupied by Germany; nobody is suggesting that Jews who escape shall settle in any land into which they escape. We ask the United Nations to declare that Jews who escape from German death shall be a responsibility of the United Nations, who will arrange their final settlement somewhere when peace returns; but, we go on to say: place Jews anywhere, put them into temporary accommodation, in camps, in any part of the world. Has any other people gone through tragedy and humiliation on such a scale? If we Zionists have not now concentrated upon the place of Palestine in the final settlement of the Jewish problem, and considered only the immediate tragedy of to-day, it is because we have not desired to complicate the situation, and are prepared to accept anything that will enable Jews to achieve immediate safety. But the aim of Zionism is to save Jews as a people, and the Balfour Declaration was issued as an announcement of the British people's desire to deal with the Jewish problem in this historic sense.

The Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917, the first Declaration concerning the Jews, which promised release and freedom to Jewry, was followed by a second international Declaration concerning the Jews twenty-five years later, on 17th December 1942, declaring the agony of Jewry. The second Declaration promises retribution to the criminals, but says nothing of the salvation of Jewry—and our task to-day is to bring the world back to the idealism of the first Declaration. The Jewish spirit has never been broken, and is not broken to-day; and we celebrate the twenty-five years

of the Balfour Declaration in the belief that the time will soon come when the realization of the Declaration of 1917 will have wiped out the memory of the Declaration of 1942.

II

Jewish settlement in Palestine is an aim which all Jews support, whatever their views concerning Zionism. But the Balfour Declaration meant more than British approval of such settlement. This Declaration of the British Cabinet, accepted by all the Allies of Britain in the last war, and included in the preamble of the Palestine Mandate, meant the acceptance of political Zionism, for the Balfour Declaration expressed sympathy with 'Jewish Zionist aspirations,' and the British Government's favour of a 'National Home.' We cannot attach the title 'National Home' to any of the attempts that have been made to settle Jews outside Palestine, e.g. in the Argentine or in Canada by the ICA, or in Biro-Bidjan by the Soviet Government. Zionist aspirations involve the Jewish national attitude, and the Jewish National Home means the Jewish home to which is attached the conception of a national aim.

No statement can represent the views of all members of a people without exception, and no declaration can express the views of all Jews, or even of all Zionists. The Jewish people has gone through so many variegated and tragic disturbances that individual Jewish attitudes must depend largely upon personal experience. The Jew who has been deprived of his human rights by Nazism, whose personal relation with his 'homeland' has been destroyed, must develop a new life—for Jewish refugees have in all ages rarely returned to the countries that they have left. The economic structure of Jewish life is such that refugees usually have nothing to return to: they may cast roots in a land of refuge, but it is hardly ever possible for them to begin afresh in the land which has cast them out.

On the other hand, Jews who in Britain, in the U.S.A., or

in the U.S.S.R., are joining their fellow-citizens in a common struggle against the common disease of Nazism, cannot but find in this experience something which unites them with their non-Jewish fellow-citizens more strongly than ever before. It is not impossible that after the war there will be some anti-Semitism in Britain, and in other Allied lands; but Jews who have fought for the same aim together with their non-Jewish fellows will not, when this fight is successful, find it easy to look upon these colleagues as strangers with whom they have nothing in common.

In this way two extreme Jewish attitudes arise: that of the extreme assimilationist who sees the sole blessing for Israel in an attitude of toleration towards Jews by other peoples and their governments; and the extreme nationalist who, wherever he may live and under any conditions, sees himself as somebody different from his neighbours, so different that he is inevitably in exile and must leave them as soon as possible in order to go back to his own land. In the midst of the world's difficulties now, a vast amount of theoretical thinking is nevertheless going on, and we Jews have to think out our situation too; the Balfour Declaration remains a valuable guide to us.

Some Jews are kept away from Zionism by what is called double loyalty; many non-Jews, too, cannot understand how Jews can demand equality in all countries, and at the same time also demand the setting up of a national home, or of a Jewish Commonwealth, in Palestine. They wonder how it is possible for a Jew to be completely loyal to the ethos of any state, and at the same time ask for the re-establishment of a state with the Jewish ethos. On the other hand, there are some Zionists who seem to look with an air of detachment upon the problem of Jews outside Palestine; they do not believe that there can be equality in other lands, and refuse to allow the Jew to combine devotion to the Zionist ideal with equal devotion to the equality of Jews in all civilized lands. The result is often a policy of evacuation which has tended to encourage in the minds of many

non-Jews, especially such as are inclined to anti-Semitism, the idea that equality for Jews need not be one of the fundamental aims to which they are attached by having joined in the task of fighting Nazism.

The United Nations are fighting for freedom, and this cannot mean that human life should tend towards a civilization in which every individual is forced to live in the country of his race or nationality, or otherwise he will be foreign and unhappy. In any case, it is foolish to introduce ideas which are inconsistent with the actual conditions of life, and the reason why Jews have to ask for equality everywhere and for the Jewish Commonwealth simultaneously, is not because the Jews have chosen to put forward views which are inconsistent, but because Jews have been placed by history in a specially difficult situation. For centuries we were kept out of general human contact, and deprived of participation in general economic life. After a brief anti-Semitic holiday for a couple of generations, which is all that the emancipation period has meant for most Jews, we are now going through the most tragic period that any people has ever had to suffer. It follows inevitably that we have to ask at the same time both for equality in other people's states, and the setting up of our own land. It is short-sighted to see only the millions of Jews who are now under Hitler tyranny, and to refuse to look at the half of Jewry that is living in liberty; it is equally short-sighted to see only the freedom of half of the Jewish people, and to ignore the misery and hopelessness of the other half.

Above all, it should be remembered that civic equality is a feature of free civilization essential for all humanity and not only for the Jews. There are many Jews for whom a Jewish land is indispensable. Millions have been economically ruined, and only a Jewish land can save them. Many Jews desire, for cultural and moral reasons, to live under conditions in which they can carry out fully the requirements and ideals of Jewish life. On the other hand, there are millions of Jews who are

economically settled where they live, who do not desire and hope never to have to consider shifting their position, and for whom there may, in fact, be little room in the practical working out of any settlement in Palestine which we shall have to deal with after the war.

The best Zionist is obviously he who aims at his own settlement in Palestine. But he is also a Zionist who may be living quite happily in any land, but desires that a Jewish national home or a Jewish Commonwealth shall exist, not only for the benefit of the millions of Jews for whom this is an economic, cultural, and social necessity, but also because this will produce for himself those cultural and ethical assets which will attach him and his children more closely to the Jewish ideal. There is no fundamental difference between such a Jew and an Irishman who lives in England or in the United States, and who wishes to see a free Eire; or an Indian who lives in South Africa or in any other part of the empire, and desires to see India free. A loyal Irishman does not think that his life is meaningless unless he goes to live in Eire, nor is an Indian disloyal if he stays where he is, anywhere in the world, and works for a free India.

This is the combination that the Balfour Declaration lays down for Jewish life. Its acceptance by so many governments after the last war, and by the Jewish people as represented by the Zionist Organization, meant that most states and a large portion of Jewry accepted the situation described above.

III

In giving recognition to the Jewish national ideal by accepting 'Zionist aspirations' the Balfour Declaration, however, did very much more than establish the theoretical position just laid down. Nationality is not only associated with that which we call nationality in western countries, where the word nation has come to mean merely the state to which one belongs. In

many countries the word nation has been so interpreted as to make members of certain peoples a threat to the countries in which they may live. Thus a German living in the United States who claims adherence to Hitler and to the Nazi regime is not following out the conception of nationality which everybody can approve, but is accepting an authority over his daily actions which has in many countries led to the destruction of the state, and which is laid down by Nazism as its means of spreading its power all over the world.

But nationality means something different from the division of humanity into mutually aggressive and hating human groups. Partnership among nations implies the acceptance of the ideal traditions associated with each people's own national life, combined with the contribution of each people to general human progress. The Jew who wishes to re-establish the Jewish nation thus wishes to live as a Jew among millions of other men, each one of whom has some traditional loyalty, and by living as a Jew to help make a better world for all. He therefore wishes to see Jewish life properly established upon firm political and economic conditions, and spiritually guaranteed by a continuous process of application in daily life and of free and continuous cultural evolution.

This Jew differs from the assimilationist, because the latter sees in the Jew somebody who is accused of belonging to some different type from the generality, and who keeps alive something which is more or less out of date, and therefore tries to make this interference with his daily life as little as possible. The Zionist living in a free western land wishes to make Judaism as real as possible, and desires to have a personal connection with a Jewish land, not to shape his political life, and not to interfere with the ideals of the country in which he lives, but in order to give something bigger to himself and to the whole of human life.

The spiritual tragedy of the Jew is seen most clearly in those who are afraid of the establishment of an avowed Jewish life, because they feel that it might endanger something which they

dare not lose. The Jew in England who says that having received the blessing of being considered English he must not allow anything to happen which may endanger this; the Jew in America who says that he has become American, and will have nothing to do with that which links him with Jews in other lands, show how desperate the position of the Jew has become. Must millions of Jews go on suffering because other Jews wish to fight, often a hopeless battle, against enemies of humanity who are attempting to rob Jews of their newly found equal civil status; in order to assert their identity with peoples, who, at the best, tolerate their differences, and, at the worst, are continually fighting strongly against the toleration of these differences?

The phenomenon of Germany and widespread fifth columnism shows how unsafe assimilated Jews can be. Jews who live in really free western lands must recognize that they live in circumstances different from those in most of Europe and in some other parts of the world. A Jew living in Britain can call himself British and not raise queries. He may raise queries when he calls himself an Englishman or a Scotsman or a Welshman, because that implies belonging to a certain people, descent from certain groups: but, for practical purposes, it is sufficient if he calls himself British. An American Jew can call himself American; no American expects the Jew to claim descent from the Pilgrim Fathers, because it is a status that only a small fraction of the American people enjoys. In other words, where the acceptance of a wide designation is possible the Jew is in a comparatively favourable position.

But let us look across at the continent of Europe. An area which was Rumanian yesterday is to-day Hungarian; an area which was Russian thirty years ago becomes Soviet, becomes Polish, becomes Russian again, becomes Lithuanian, and is now claimed by Germany. What is a Jew who lives in such an area? He usually classes himself with the state to which the area belongs, claiming the equality which the state often

denies. Is a Jew in Transylvania—if allowed to survive—Rumanian or Hungarian? Whichever he claims he is the enemy of the other. Is a Jew who escapes Nazi murder in Bialystok a Russian or a Pole, a Lithuanian or a German? Is there not one solution only, namely that a Jew is a Jew and nothing else, that he belongs to his own people, just as a member of any other people belongs to his own people?

IV

Zionism asserts what is an obvious historical fact, namely that Jewry does not consist of a group of stray individuals who for one reason or another are despised and persecuted. To the Zionist, Jews are a people, not because of race or any other physical norm or measure about which scientific theory may wander from one extreme to the other, but because Jews have a common history, a common idealism, a common faith, a common mode of life which bind them together.

This does not mean that all Jews must desert the lands in which they live; but it does mean that, while as many Jews as like it, and as find it convenient, may attach themselves to any state where they are accepted, Jews as a people constitute a group which can only live its life as a group, free from the curses of minority status and the dangers of discrimination and extermination, in a land which, by its daily life and by its continual development, represents the essence of their common Jewish life.

Nationalism is a very bad word, because of its evil associations, and many people say: Nationalism has committed so many crimes, why have another, a Jewish, nation in the world? This question is similar to the query which many poor parents should ask themselves: If we find it so difficult to struggle through the economics of life, why have children and increase the struggle? The answer is equally simple in both cases. The economic struggle in humanity should be replaced, and the whole essence

of modern thought is to replace it, by something which gives happiness and sufficiency to everybody. Similarly, as the nationalistic struggle is due to the desire of strong nations to conquer and destroy weak nations, the obvious answer is to give to every nation, and to every human group, the right to live its own life, to think out its own thoughts, and to develop its own modes. If nationalism means Nazism, then why are we so proud of the Russian great 'national' struggle against the Germans; why is Britain, why is the U.S.A., fighting for its 'national' existence against Nazism? It is not nationalism that is bad: it is the wickedness of nationalism that has to be destroyed; and the wickedness of nationalism will not be destroyed by denying nationalism to the Jews. Let every people, including the Jews, have its national freedom, the danger of excessive political nationalism being removed by more and more co-operation, and, if possible, federation, between different nations, the sovereign rights of all peoples being reduced for this purpose. If liberal thought conceived a League of Nations, it cannot at the same time say that Jews should be deprived of their nationality because some nations behave wickedly in trying to assert their national superiority. If liberal thought desires federation, which does not attempt to destroy different nations, but to give them more freedom and greater security by the unity of federation, it cannot deny this freedom and security to the Jews by the arbitrary denial of the title 'nation' to the Jews.

There is something else to be said about nationalism: it gives to a people not only rights, but also duties. Would the contributions of Shakespeare or of Milton or of Tolstoy have been given to mankind if these men had not been surrounded by their national lives? Can one conceive the prophetic messages of the great Jewish thinkers in the Bible without the Jewish life that they shared, and against which they often protested? Jewish thought has in the past given to the world something unique; it is its duty to continue this now and in the future.

The Zionist sees in Judaism a contribution to the world; he wishes as a Jew to take part in the building of the new world; he desires his children to see creative realities in their daily life, and not depend only upon historical memories. Clearly these additions to civilization are best obtained, and, in fact, may only be obtained, in a real Jewish land, where the language is Hebrew, where life is Jewish in all its aspects and is associated with the traditions of four thousand years of Jewish history, where these traditions link up with modern life and make both Judaism and the world richer to-day.

The Balfour Declaration, therefore, gave a positive content to the Jew wherever he may live. If he goes to Palestine he becomes a full Jew, while sharing directly in the making of a new and better world; he shares this not through the benevolence of other 'peoples' toleration, which may terminate so that others may rob what he has created; he does not have to imitate other peoples' lives, think in other peoples' views and traditions; he lives a life in which he can be a Jew at all times, when working, thinking, voting, and performing all the actions of human life. To the Jew outside Palestine the Declaration gave a new positive attribute to his life, a new contribution of Jewish productivity, a progressive character to the Jewishness which he asserts.

If Jews have converted part of the soil of Palestine from a desert into a garden; if they have brought into the great area of the Middle East that which is making the Middle East a constructive part of human society; if they have brought to Palestine learning, art, culture, and music; if they have made Palestine the home of the spiritual ideals of the Jewish faith: then they have done something which is visible, concentrated, and meaningful. Every Jew can take his share in this, can help to build where others have destroyed or where others have neglected, can give new methods and new ideals to the human race. This is the nationalism that Jews want.

It has been objected that the basis of Zionism is a reaction

and to finer ideals. Perhaps the struggle to-day will give us a world with finer international and humane principles in the future. But the fact is that it is in the course of the struggles for progress that the Jews are destroyed, and when any struggle is over and freedom comes back to the world, it nevertheless almost always happens that more misery comes to Jews. The aim of our people must be to become free, and to take part as a people in the human struggle, and not be merely victims of those against whom humanity has to fight for the safety of civilization, and of the mistakes and neglect of those who are the champions of civilization. If Jewry to-day is dying in Europe, but is not allowed to take its place as a people in order to fight Hitlerism, then one can only wonder whether the establishment of a better world will mean a permanent improvement in the position of the Jewish people.

V

The Balfour Declaration asserted both the nationality of Jewry and the principle of equality of Jews in all lands. The national principle has stimulated the practical development of the Jewish National Home, for Palestine Jewry, and those who supported its activities from outside, have paid particular attention to certain immediate practical courses as applications of their understanding of what is meant by Jewish nationalism. If Jews had gone to Palestine and merely become Palestinians, there would have been no Jewish national home. Jewish insistence on their own Hebrew language, on a special Jewish educational system from the elementary school to the university, on a Jewish medical system with fine Jewish hospitals, on Jewish artistic institutions in painting, music, and architecture, and on many other activities of a social character, is the expression of Jewish nationalism. Further, if Jews had gone to Palestine to live the sort of life that they have lived elsewhere as middlemen and as business men, then there would have been no Jewish

national home, for a national home needs a national economic life, based on the soil, as well as a national educational, religious, and social life.

But experience has shown that this application of nationalism has been insufficient, and that the rebuilding of the Jewish nation in Palestine will not succeed unless the Jewish national feature is greatly extended. A national home to which admission is by the goodwill of some other body than the nation itself, in which economic development, especially on the land, is restricted, in which the possibilities of remaining a minority are continually threatening, can mean little to a people seeking its national freedom. It therefore follows that in the evolution of Palestine in the future free Jewish immigration, Jewish control of the financial and other resources of the country, and, above all, the development of a Jewish majority, which will ensure that the country will remain Jewish in the future, are indispensable. The difficulties in the way are obvious, but such difficulties need not be looked upon as having fundamental significance. Statesmen responsible for the development of the Middle East policy after the last war did not make it clear that Palestine was to become a Jewish land—there is, therefore, the more reason that this should be done after the present war.

The Balfour Declaration showed how this was to be done. In addition to the dual aim already mentioned in regard to the Jews, it also introduced the aim of making the Arab position as desirable as is possible, using the words: 'Nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' It is clear that these words cannot be taken to mean that nothing shall be done for Jews which any Arab might object to, but that what is done for the Jews shall not do harm to Arabs who wish to remain in Palestine. The Arab states round Palestine have plenty of opportunities for producing such national freedom for the Arabs as any Arab may desire: the aim of the Balfour

Declaration is to leave it free for the Jews to build up a national life. All Zionists gladly accept the view that freedom for everybody in Palestine is indispensable, be he Jew or Arab; no personal discrimination against anybody can be envisaged or allowed. But this freedom must be applied to Jews as well as to Arabs; it means freedom for Jewish national development, and freedom for each human being living in Palestine as a complete and equal free citizen of the country.

It is with this Zionist aim that the Balfour Declaration was made. We know from the statements made by the men who issued the Declaration that its aim was not merely to allow to Jews the privilege of having a place in which they can take pride, a centre to which they can look for cultural and spiritual inspiration; but also to give to the Jews a land where all that goes to make a people could be concentrated and rendered effective. There is no people that has suffered so much from economic lack of balance and economic helplessness as the Jews, and a Jewish national home must produce a Jewish economic life. Jewish life cannot be imagined without the establishment of a fully developed Jewish culture, so that Jewry can create once again and take its place among the factors of world civilization. Jewish life is not possible without the political foundations upon which the life of a nation must be based; take away from the Jewish people the right to decide its own future, and you have left it in its historic physical and moral slavery; deprive the Jewish people of the right to return to its own land, and the term national home becomes a fiasco and a mockery; refuse to the Jewish people the power of development and growth in its national home, and you have reduced it to impotence and stagnation.

VI

If for a generation we have been divorced from the real aim of Zionism as intended by the Balfour Declaration, both

the glory of achievement in Palestine and the extermination policy of Nazi Europe force us to come back to it now, so as to establish our future on sound principles. A clear statement of the principles upon which the future of Jewry is to be based is indispensable now—and the civilized world expects this in the face of our European tragedy.

It is not possible to formulate detailed Jewish aims for after the war. The great peoples have not ventured to formulate their aims, for there are many problems to which answers must depend upon the situation after the war, and downtrodden Jewry cannot claim to anticipate such answers. But certain principles can be laid down now as defining the essence of our problem, for all our experience before and since the war has only strengthened, in a manner which nobody ever expected or feared, the principles of the Jewish future. Freedom of thought and of religion, freedom from want and from fear, must be the first aim for all peoples after the war; and for the Jews, freedom also to live. But unless a radical change is made in the direction of Jewish history, then we have little to look forward to in what was the main background of Jewish life in Europe.

Reduced to the uttermost limit of simplicity our policy must therefore contain two principles: civic equality in all lands, and free national life in Palestine. The latter involves two key issues: the first is one without which there can be no physical Jewish national home, and the second is one without which a Jewish national home can only be a delusion. The first is that Jews shall be free to go to Palestine, for without Jewish escape from the tragedy of Europe we cannot have Jewish life, and without a Jewish population Palestine will not be a Jewish home. The second is that the Jews shall in this home live the life of a free self-governing people, for if Jewish life in Palestine is to depend upon others, then little has been done to save the Jewish people.

We must, therefore, claim that immigration into Palestine

shall be a Jewish phenomenon, the Jewish people themselves deciding upon this immigration. There will be difficulties. Some people believe that if Jews have the responsibility for immigration into Palestine they will be overtaken by such a large mass of immigrants that they will not be able to cope with and direct it. We have often been accused of not being able to carry out state functions—that we could not do agriculture, could not build cities and harbours. We have done these and many other things, modestly but not unsuccessfully. Jewry will have to face new difficulties, will have to learn discipline, will have to acquire all the characters which signify a real people. And it is clear that if we want Jewish immigration into Palestine, then only a Jewish body, believing in a Jewish home, aiming at setting up Jewish life, will do it successfully, and devote to it every ounce of its energy. It is equally obvious that Jews must have the possibility of developing the country, so as to increase its absorptive capacity in order to secure the greatest possible immigration. It means, in fact, that the Jews must become the formative influence in Palestine, and this means a Jewish state, or, to use the expression adopted in the days of the Balfour Declaration, a Jewish Commonwealth. As Mr. Lloyd George said to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937: ‘If the Jews had meanwhile responded to the principle afforded them by the idea of a national home, and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth.’

There will be political difficulties. In particular, the Arab problem is one of the fundamental matters to be settled. There are people who say that we cannot achieve Zionism because the Arabs will not agree. Humanity may therefore decide to leave the Jewish problem unsolved; it may say that it cannot enter into controversy over the Jewish problem. But will humanity say this about the other great problems which it will have to solve—the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, East Prussia, Transylvania, the independence of Austria? Will

peace be secured without these and other issues being solved because there will be opposition and controversy in each case? The Balfour Declaration attempted to apply constructive statesmanship to the Jewish problem. Can the world say that no such effort is required now? Is not the present tragedy of Jewry the historic challenge to world statesmanship? The peace-making statesmen will have many great problems to solve in order that peace shall be fairly established? the Jewish problem is equally insistent for solution with all the others and at least as fundamental to the security of the peace. Can anybody say to-day that in the making of peace every nation and people shall present its problems to world statesmanship, except the Jews? Does the Nazi extermination policy justify this exception?

In the making of peace there will be much to give and much to take. No nation in the world will remain as it was: all peoples will have to contribute towards one another's happiness and safety. The Arabs may have many claims after the war. The victorious United Nations may have much to give to the Arabs; but the Jews can also give much to the Arabs. The Arabs must therefore co-operate to make the peace, and give a little in order to make it secure, no more than the acceptance of that which humanity joined to give in the Balfour Declaration.

Few ideals have been in the extraordinary position of Zionism to-day. That it can save the Jewish people is its fundamental justification; that it can join in giving to the Arabs vast possibilities of improvement and progress, that it can give security to one of the fundamental areas in the Middle East, the safety of which is so essential to the security of the British Commonwealth and of humanity, make Zionism not a movement of Jewish national acquisitiveness, but a movement of Jewish national contribution to Jewry, to its Arab neighbours, and to civilization.

The Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917 assigned to the Jews civic equality in all lands, and the renewal

of Jewish national life in Palestine. A great political document was made which Jewry can use as the basis of its future. The thinker and statesman Balfour thought deeply of the Jewish historic agony and prepared for us the lines of statesmanship which will restore freedom and happiness to our people. The Declaration of 17th December 1942 challenges humanity to ensure the successful application of this statesmanship.

THE JEWS OF PALESTINE AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

I

DR. WEIZMANN TO THE PRIME MINISTER

29th August 1939.

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

In this hour of supreme crisis, the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last months, and especially in the last week: that the Jews 'stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.'

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the co-ordinating direction of His Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, etc.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time.

We ask you to accept this declaration in the spirit in which it is made.

I am, dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Yours sincerely,

CH. WEIZMANN.

THE PRIME MINISTER TO DR. WEIZMANN

2nd September 1939.

DEAR DR. WEIZMANN,

I should like to express my warm appreciation of the contents of your letter of 29th August, and of the spirit which prompted it. It is true that differences of opinion exist between the Mandatory Power and the Jewish Agency as regards policy in Palestine, but I gladly accept the assurance contained in your letter. I note with pleasure that in this time of supreme emergency, when those things which we hold dear are at stake, Britain can rely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the Jewish Agency. You will not expect me to say more at this stage than that your public-spirited assurances are welcome and will be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

II

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

His Majesty's Government has to-day declared war against the Germany of Hitler.

At this fateful moment, the Jewish community has a three-fold concern: the protection of the Jewish homeland, the welfare of the Jewish people, the victory of the British Empire.

The White Paper of May 1939 was a grave blow to us. As heretofore, we shall defend to the utmost of our ability the right of the Jewish people in its National Home. Our opposition to the White Paper was, however, never directed against Great Britain or the British Empire.

The war which has now been forced upon Great Britain by Nazi Germany is our war, and all the assistance that we shall be able and permitted to give to the British Army and to the British People we shall render wholeheartedly.

We do not know what will be in store for our country in this war. Our first duty is to ensure the survival and the welfare of the Jewish community, to strengthen it materially and morally and to prepare it for the great and difficult task which Jewish history has assigned to it.

We have to maintain and strengthen the positions and creative achievements built up by two generations of Jewish pioneers in our Homeland. During two generations we have devoted our forces to constructive effort. If need be, we shall now show our strength in war also.

Let us close our ranks, let us unite in a spirit of responsibility and mutual help, discipline, and national devotion, and let us be prepared.

Jerusalem,
3rd September 1939.

III

REGISTRATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

A joint meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and of the General Council of Palestine Jews (Vaad Leumi) was held yesterday [3rd September 1939] at the offices of the Jewish Agency.

The meeting dealt with the emergency created by the declaration of war. Among other matters, it was decided to carry out a registration of volunteers (men and women) for national service during the period of the emergency. Volunteers will be registered:

(a) to serve the needs of the Jewish community as regards security, economic life, and other public requirements,

(b) to be at the disposal of the British military authorities in Palestine for such services as they may require.

All men and women between the ages of 18 and 50, who register for such voluntary service, will be required to furnish details of their technical qualifications and special experience, and to indicate the tasks in which they are prepared to serve the Jewish community or the British Army in Palestine.

It was further resolved to set up, under the auspices of the Jewish Agency, an Economic Council composed of prominent members of the Jewish community whose function will be to deal with the requirements of the Jewish economy in Palestine, in the fields of agriculture, industry, labour, supplies, credit, transport, import, export, etc.

The committees previously established by the Jewish Agency for dealing with the question of supply, banking, and transport will continue to function in co-operation with the central Economic Council now to be set up.

(Palestine Post, 4th September 1939.)

An analysis of the final figures of 136,000 Jewish men and women who registered for voluntary national service is of considerable interest. The relevant figures were:

Men	85,781	63 per cent
Women	50,262	37 per cent
	<u>136,043</u>	<u>100 per cent</u>

The registrations comprised 71 per cent of the men in the total age group eligible for service and 42 per cent of the women.

The enrolments encompassed all males and females between the ages of 18 and 50 years, divided into two age groups, the second over 35 years. Most of the volunteers were given a thorough medical examination, on the lines given to recruits joining the army, and the relevant particulars were noted on their application forms. There are to be three categories:

- (1) Men aged 18 to 35 who are capable of active service;
- (2) Men over 35, who will be put into a reserve or for passive defence services;
- (3) Women.

(The New Judaea, October 1939.)

IV

MESSAGE BY GOVERNOR LEHMAN, NEW YORK

Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, Governor of New York State, appointed by President Roosevelt as American Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, sent the following message to the 1942 Year Book of the United Palestine Appeal in the U.S.A.:

'In marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration this year, we must pause to express our admiration of the vision, idealism, and labours of the Jewish settlers who have reclaimed Palestine from the grip of the dead past and infused it with the spirit of new life. What they built has brought blessings to all, Jews and Arabs alike, and has contributed to the establishment of a forward-looking freedom-loving Jewish community which stands firmly and loyally at the side of the United Nations. From the farms and factories flows a stream of supplies which represent the wholehearted prayerful contributions of the victims of Hitler to the war against tyranny.

'With rare devotion many of its young men and women have joined the Armed Forces. Already the record of the war in Greece, Libya, and Egypt shines with the heroic deeds of Jewish soldiers from Palestine. Palestine has in this and many other ways proved of unique value as a mainstay of democracy in the Middle East. In rendering this great service, the Jewish soldiers more than amply rewarded the faith and the goodwill of the nations which sponsored the reconstruction of Palestine.

'The spirit which moved the statesmen of the world to embody the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate after the first World War must again reassert itself after the present conflict. For the plight of the Jewish people, broken and martyred by ten years of attack, will be so desperate that the survival of large numbers will hinge on an opportunity to find healing and a home with their own people in Palestine.'

POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

RESOLUTION passed in Jerusalem by the Small Committee of the General Council of the Zionist Organization on 10th November 1942:

'The Small Committee of the Zionist General Council endorses the Zionist political line as defined by its representatives at the All-Zionist Conference in America in May 1942, which lays down that the new world order that will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace, justice, and equality unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is finally solved.

'The Conference urges that the gates of Palestine be opened, that the Jewish Agency be vested with the control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for the upbuilding of the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world.'

RESOLUTION passed by the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland at its Forty-second Annual Conference held in London on 17th January 1943:

'This Conference declares that the democratic order which will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace and justice unless the Jewish people are assured an equal status among the nations of the world. It demands the full implementation of the policy envisaged in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. This Conference demands that international assistance should be given for the continued growth of Jewish settlement in Palestine by immigration and colonization; that the Jewish people should be allowed to make the most

of the economic capacity of the country to absorb newcomers; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for the upbuilding of the country; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated into the structure of the new democratic world.

'This Conference further declares that the future Jewish Commonwealth will be based on the principles of equality and justice for all its inhabitants; it endorses the policy of co-operation with the Arabs proclaimed by successive Zionist Congresses; it is convinced that Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine will be a most important constructive factor in the revival and progress of the Middle East.'

APPENDIX

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

TOGETHER WITH A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL RELATING TO ITS APPLICATION TO THE TERRITORY KNOWN AS TRANS-JORDAN UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 25

*Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty
December 1922*

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the

Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 5

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 8

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to

any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 12

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be

responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14

A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or ecclesiastical bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17

The Administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of

merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

Article 20

The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law

of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nations of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1)

'Antiquity' means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6)

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7)

Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nations without good grounds.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22

English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23

The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Article 24

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory

shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

Article 26

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 27

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 28

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

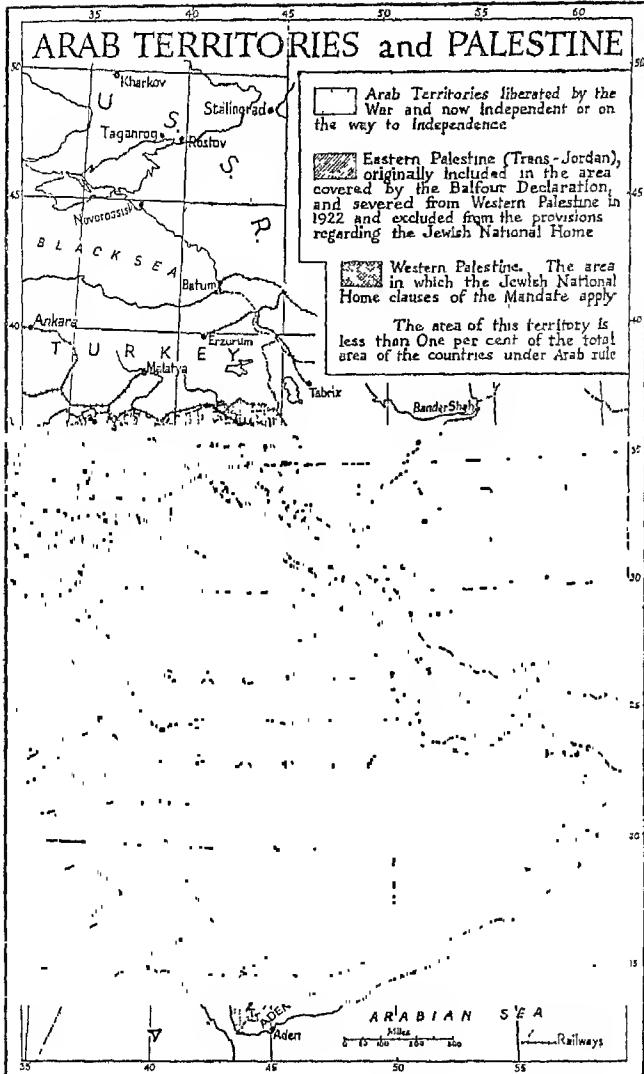
Certified true copy:

FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL,

RAPPARD,

Director of the Mandates Section.

ARAB TERRITORIES and PALESTINE



NOTE

GENEVA,

September 23rd, 1922.

ARTICLE 25 OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE

Territory known as Trans-Jordan

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Secretary-General has the honour to communicate for the information of the Members of the League, a memorandum relating to Article 25 of the Palestine Mandate presented by the British Government to the Council of the League on September 16th, 1922.

The memorandum was approved by the Council subject to the decision taken at its meeting in London on July 24th, 1922, with regard to the coming into force of the Palestine and Syrian mandates.

MEMORANDUM BY THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE

i. Article 25 of the Mandate for Palestine provides as follows:

'In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this Mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.'

2. In pursuance of the provisions of this Article, His Majesty's Government invite the Council to pass the following resolution:

'The following provisions of the Mandate for Palestine are not applicable to the territory known as Trans-Jordan, which comprises all territory lying to the east of a line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba on the Gulf of that name up the centre of the Wady Araba, Dead Sea and River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk: thence up the centre of that river to the Syrian Frontier.'

Preamble.—Recitals 2 and 3.

Article 2.—The words 'placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and'.

Article 4.

Article 6.

Article 7.—The sentence 'There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.'

Article 11.—The second sentence of the first paragraph and the second paragraph.

Article 13.

Article 14.

Article 22.

Article 23.

In the application of the Mandate to Trans-Jordan, the action which, in Palestine, is taken by the Administration of the latter country, will be taken by the Administration of Trans-Jordan under the general supervision of the Mandatory.

3. His Majesty's Government accept full responsibility as Mandatory for Trans-Jordan, and undertake that such provision as may be made for the administration of that territory in accordance with Article 25 of the Mandate shall be in no way inconsistent with those provisions of the Mandate which are not by this resolution declared inapplicable.